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(See pages 159 and 160.)

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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NEWSPAPER

ROCKEFELLER ?

Editorials from the CATHOLIC PRESS

See Page 151

83 Protestant CLERGY Say "NO"

See Page 152

Post-Honeymoon STRATEGY REVEALED

See Page 151

Investors' Union Answers Kuchel on "FRIGHT MAIL"

By STEVE STAHL

See Page 160

POCKET BOOK PATRIOTS The Consequences of Foreign Aid

By HOWARD BUFFETT

See Page 150

Businessmen, Doctors Organize for POLITICAL ACTION

Goal: To Offset COPE

By VICTOR RIESEL

See Page 157

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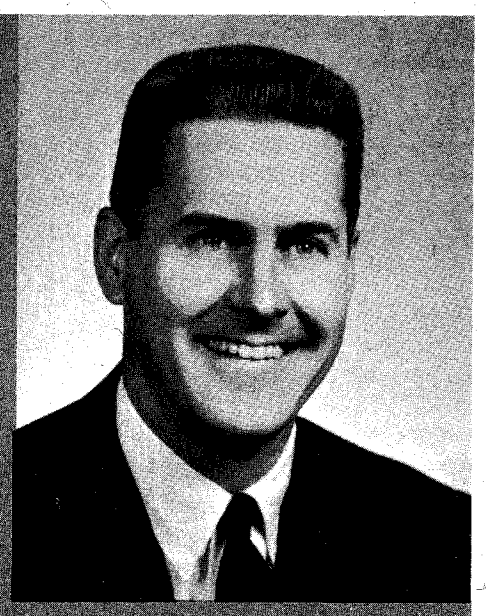
'The Meaning of Communism'

Reviewed by Prof. ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN



DR. BOUSCAREN

The Book:

The Meaning of Communism, by William J. Miller, in association with Henry L. Roberts and Marshall D. Shulman. Silver Burdett Co. 1963, 192 pages.

The Reviewer:

Anthony T. Bouscaren, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science, Le Moyne College, Syracuse, N. Y.

This little book is intended to be *the* textbook for high school courses on communism. It is beautifully put together, with admirable photographs and study aids, and it is well-written. There is much useful information in this book, and often, telling points are made against communism. But the authors are what James Burnham would classify as "softs" on communism; they are anti-Communist but don't want to do much that will hurt the Communists.

Their presentation of the alternatives is false: peaceful coexistence or nuclear annihilation. There is no understanding of beating the Communists at their own game of protracted conflict (that wide spectrum of counterpressures short of nuclear war).

Their book is disappointing because after describing very ably the nature of the Communist threat, they conclude that there is not much we can do about it except gimmicks like the Peace Corps. Thus the authors' view is "hopeful coexistence": They hope that the Soviet bloc will mellow and lose its innate expansionism.

The greatest crime committed by this book is trying to convince the unwary student that the only alternative to peaceful coexistence is nuclear war (p. 11): "But the cataclysmic nature of themonuclear conflict makes major war something that both antagonists in the battle for the world have sought to avoid. And gradual evolutionary trends now taking place within the Communist world give grounds . . . to hope that communism, extreme as it is in theory, may in time become something different in practice." This was the argument Neville Chamberlain used against Churchill: "Don't push Hitler around too much and he'll come around to live and let live."

Shortly after expressing this philosophy, the authors produce an amazing map which shows Spain and South Viet Nam as "uncommitted countries," and Mexico (which has steadfastly refused all military cooperation with other American republics for mutual defense) as a member of the free world alliance.

The treatment of Marx and marxism is generally excellent, although I fail to see the value of possibly building up sympathy for Marx by stressing how poor he was. It may well be that Marx did love children, but then so may have Hitler. It's beside the point.

The discussion of Soviet policy and actions during the World War II period is unsatisfactory. Describing the Hitler-Stalin pact, the authors seem to apologize for Soviet behavior when they say (p. 96) "that Stalin grabbed what he could while he could" while Hitler was taking most of Western Europe. The fact is that Stalin took Eastern Poland and Finland *before* Hitler turned West. Furthermore, it was all agreed to ahead of time: both took what they agreed to take. There is no mention of important defections from the Soviet side when the Germans finally did invade the U.S.S.R., and then we come across this incredible statement (p. 96): "American soldiers on Bataan felt bound in a joint struggle with the Soviet soldiers who were dying in battle against a common enemy." I would love to see evidence in support of this monstrosity.

How will the student ever know that both Senators Taft and Truman opposed United States aid to dictator Stalin? How will they ever understand the fateful decision which Franklin D. Roosevelt made to save Stalin, against the advice of his top Soviet expert, William Bullitt?

The discussion of the war in China during and after World War II is skimpy and misleading. The Chinese Communists actually fought the Japanese very little. Mao told his comrades in 1937: "Our policy should be 70 per cent expansion, 20 per cent dealing with the Kuomintang, and 10 per cent resisting Japan." Nor will the student ever learn from this book that the United States withheld aid from Chiang (primarily through the embargo of 1946) which might have been used to defeat the Communist forces.

HITLER

STALIN

"Describing the Hitler-Stalin pact, the authors seem to apologize for Soviet behavior. . . ."

The same sort of defect is found in the discussion about the Korean War. Nothing is said of our concessions at Panmunjom, nor of the Chinese characterization of the United States thereafter as a "paper tiger."

The conclusion contains further misleading statements. Here, for example, is the whopper (p. 176): "While the Communist system is repellent to the American people, the United States of course recognizes the right of the Russian people, or any people, to live under any form of government they prefer." But when did the Russian people indicate they prefer Communist dictatorship?

Astonishingly enough, the authors do, in fact, ridicule (p. 182) those "prominent Americans [who] proposed that instead of fighting we should learn to cooperate with the irresistible force of nazism." But this is precisely their own attitude toward communism. All through the book Miller, Roberts and Shulman keep telling the reader *in effect:* "Instead of fighting the Communists we must learn to live in the same world with them because they may reform."

Thus, in spite of its considerable assets, the liabilities of this book are such as to make it unsatisfactory as a text for high school students. This is disappointing because it could have been *the* book. Until it comes, I would suggest Hoover's *A Study of Communism,* Colegrove's *Democracy Versus Communism,* Richard Ketchum's *What is Communism?* and, with some reservation, Roger Swearingen's *The World of Communism.*

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CONTENTS

The Meaning of Communism
Reviewed by Prof. Anthony T. Bouscaren 146
Human Events Article Attacked
'Crime in New York's Public Housing' 147
This Week in Washington 148
Pocketbook Patriots
By The Hon. Howard Buffet 150
Rocky's Plans
From the Allen-Scott Report 151
Rocky's Remarriage and 1964
From the Catholic Press 151
83 Protestant Ministers Say 'No' to Rocky 152
Foreman Refuses 'Pork' For Own District 154
Teddy's Blunder
From the Allen-Scott Report 154
Left-Wing Extremism in Action
By Fulton Lewis Jr 155
Don't Downgrade Congress
By Sen. Barry Goldwater 155
Sen. Byrd Makes Sense
By Henry J. Taylor 155
Proxmire on the Rack
By Holmes Alexander 155
Fear in the Parks
From the New York Daily News 156
Shipyards and Shipyards
From the Richmond News Leader 156
Power Grab
From the Dallas Morning News 156
It's Your Money
From the Washington Daily News 156
More 'No-Win' Policy
From the Nashville Banner 156
Political Action in Business and Medicine
By Victor Riesel 157
Spotlight on Congress 158
Adlai Stevenson: None So Blind
From the Chicago Tribune 159
Let Charity Begin at Home
By Paul Harvey 159
Investors' Union Answers Kuchel on 'Fright Mail'
By Steve Stahl 160

Let Your Editor Know

Newspaper editors are glad to know the preferences of their readers. Your recommendations and those of your friends may cause your editor to choose a conservative columnist rather than a liberal the next time he makes a change. The syndicated columnists whose writings appear in this week's issue are:

Allen-Scott Report, Fulton Lewis Jr., Sen. Barry Goldwater, Henry J. Taylor, Holmes Alexander, Victor Reisel, Paul Harvey

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'Crime in New York's Public Housing'

HUMAN EVENTS ARTICLE ATTACKED

Reappraisal Indicates Soundness of Our Conclusions

WILLIAM REID

New York City Housing Authority

A *Human Events* article on rampant crime in New York public housing projects—citing it as evidence of the failure of socialized housing—has drawn a bristling response from William Reid, chairman of the New York City Housing Authority.

Chairman Reid, labeling the article an "obvious political diatribe," contended "there is not, and never has been, a crime wave" in the city's public housing, and called the *Human Events* story a "rehash" of a series of "sensational" stories that appeared in the New York *Journal-American.* He commented that "some newspapers have followed the practice of giving wide publicity to each incident . . . thus giving the false impression that violence and crime are widespread in public housing." Chairman Reid's statement was placed in the *Congressional Record* on May 2, 1963 and commended by Rep. Abraham Multer (D.-N. Y.).

The author of the *Human Events* article acknowledged his use of the *Journal-American* series as a basic source and pointed to a commendation of the series by none other than Chairman Reid. On Aug. 29, 1962, Chairman Reid told *Journal-American* reporters, "We have read your expose of conditions at some of our projects and are grateful to you for focusing attention on them."

The *Human Events* story, printed in the Jan. 19, 1963 issue and reprinted in the special supplement "The Case Against Urban Renewal," was written by Stephen H. Marcus, a sophomore at City College of New York and a student at the 1962 *Human Events* summer journalism workshop.

The article showed that public housing has failed to live up to the expectations of liberal reformers of 30 years ago. These reformers believed that environment determines a person's behavior. They argued that if only the underprivileged could be isolated from the crime-producing influences of the slums and sheltered in beautiful, new public housing, they would be less likely to fall into a life of crime.

As evidence that these reformers have been discredited, the article cited revealing facts and figures on crime conditions in public housing. Rather than a crime preventive, public housing has become—the article concluded—a "monumental festering place."

"Today, public housing is the anticipated, and almost daily, stage for murders, rapes, muggings and thievery. Indeed, in the houses the number of 'crimes against persons,' for instance, soars way above the city's crime rate. Homicide in the housing projects occurs 50 per cent more frequently per 100,000 residents than in the city as a whole," wrote the author.

The author cited a "confidential" report by Irving Wise, director of house management and one of Chairman Reid's chief lieutenants, indicating that most of the persons apprehended for crimes on project grounds are project tenants. "The report states that project residents are responsible for all murders, more than 80 per cent of all sex offenses and 70 per cent of all thefts," the article stated.

In his rebuttal, Chairman Reid attacked the article's crime statistics as incorrect. Mr. Marcus has answered the chairman point by point. Here is their exchange:

* * *

Mr. Reid: "There is not, and never has been, any crime wave in public housing in New York City . . . Official records for the year 1961 show a citywide arrest rate for felonies and serious misdemeanors of 6.3 per thousand persons, while the tenant arrest rate for similar offenses . . . is only 3.8 for every thousand persons."

Mr. Marcus: "Mr. Reid explains the arrest rate for 'felonies and serious misdemeanors' for the city is 6.3 per thousand persons as compared with 3.8 for housing project tenants. Granted, this may be true; I merely stated that the project rate for 'crimes against persons' is higher than that for the rest of the city, which he failed to refute. If there is not a crime wave in New York public housing, why is it then that, last summer, Mayor Wagner increased the Housing Authority police force of 605 men by an additional 100 policemen and later authorized another 200 men—hired from a private detective agency—to serve as auxiliary housing police forces. This brings to 905 the total number of police guarding public housing projects. Four hundred fifty thousand people live in public housing. This means that 201 police have been assigned to every 100,000 project tenants, while only 133 policemen guard every 100,000 New Yorkers."

* * *

Mr. Reid: "Homicides in public housing developments do not occur 'almost daily' and do not occur '50 per cent more frequently per hundred thousand residents than in the city as a whole.' During 1961, the last complete year for which data are available for both public housing and the city, 16 homicides were reported in public housing. This rate was well below that for the total city population."

"Mr. Marcus: "I never reported that murders *occur 'almost daily' as Mr. Reid asserts I did. My statement referred to the total number of all crimes committed. The project homicide rate is indeed greater than that of the rest of the city, although I was in error in stating that it is greater by 50 per cent. Actually the project rate is approximately 23 per cent higher. The project rate (based upon Housing Authority statistics) is about 5.3 homicides per hundred thousand tenants, whereas the comparable rate for the rest of the city, as reported in the New York* Times, *is approximately 4.3. Chairman Reid provides 16 as the number of homicides in the projects in 1961 and bases his estimate of the rate on that figure. According to a Housing Authority report prepared by director of management Irving Wise, however, the number of homicides for 1961 was 23. Using this figure, I arrived at the 5.3 rate."*

* * *

Mr. Reid: "Mr. Marcus never wrote to, or visited, the Authority's offices to obtain information for his article or to check his wild statements."

Mr. Marcus: "Mr. Reid argues that I never communicated with him or the Housing Authority, but this assertion, like the others, is incorrect. When I appeared at his office on Aug. 27, 1962, his secretary informed me that the chairman was too busy to see me. Therefore, all of my queries were directed to two members of Mr. Reid's public relations staff."

* * *

Mr. Reid: "The so-called confidential report referred to by Mr. Marcus is nothing more than an annual report of the director of management, issued routinely and quite widely distributed."

Mr. Marcus: "It was in Mr. Reid's offices that I saw the revealing Irving Wise report and took notes from it. If I were in error in saying that the report was confidential, I can only say that this was the impression given me by the Authority's two public relations men, who openly debated whether I should be given access to it. After deciding I could see the report, they cautioned me against taking it out of the office. Mr. Reid contends that the report is 'widely distributed.' But on May 29, 1963, I talked by phone with the author of the report, Irving Wise, who stated—when I asked to see the report again—that it is 'not handed out indiscriminately, but is given only to members of the staff and to persons serving the public interest.' To see the report again, I would have to submit a written request, which would be reviewed by the Authority to determine whether my work was in the 'public interest.' We know Mr. Reid's opinion on that."

* * *

Mr. Reid: "It (the Wise report) certainly does not state that 'most persons apprehended for criminal behavior on project grounds are project tenants'."

Mr. Marcus: "Mr. Reid disputes my statement that 'most persons apprehended for criminal behavior on project grounds are project tenants.' The Irving Wise report states that of the arrests made on project grounds during 1961, 1,807 were public housing tenants and 1,387 non-tenants. The same report states that project tenants were responsible for all murders, 80 per cent of all sex offenses, and 70 per cent of all thefts. Go back and read the report, Mr. Reid."

HUMAN EVENTS
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Section Seven
January 19, 1963

Crime in New York's Public Housing

By STEPHEN H. MARCUS

Thirty years ago, the liberals assigned to public housing the top priority position on their "most urgent" list and subjected the American public to an interminable propaganda campaign in its favor.

First—the New Dealers contended—slums were caused by certain glaring inefficiencies in the free enterprise system. Capitalism could not provide the laboring masses with housing of a decent standard, and at a price comfortably within their means. Next, once the slum dweller was removed from the dismal squalor of ghetto life, and nestled in public housing, he would evince a natural positive response to his new environment.

With his family and himself shielded by the sturdy walls of public housing from the morals-decaying influences of the slums—they could now lead richer, more productive lives—or so the New Dealers claimed.

Countless times the public was told, as the liberal *New Republic* editorially insisted in 1931, that "the problem is to get rid of the slums and to build new standard housing, and to build new communities, so financed that even the lowest income groups will be able to afford them... The objective cannot be achieved by building only four walls and a roof, but by means of obtaining at the same time fresh air, sunlight, playgrounds and gardens..." The *New Republic* curtly promised, "or a revolution."

There is public housing; the public housing gospel received judicial support, said a New York court decision in the mid-Thirties: "The public evils, social and economic, of such slum conditions are unquestioned and unquestionable. Slum areas are the breeding places of disease which take toll not only from denizens but by spread, from the inhabitants of the entire city and state. Juvenile delinquency, crime and immorality are there born, find protection, and flourish."

Submitting to the voluminous liberal propaganda of the day, New York City, in 1935, embarked on the nation's first public housing program.

The lush promises of the liberals clamoring for public housing during the New Deal have not, however, materialized—even after twenty-seven years of public housing experiments in New York City. As a crime preventative, socialized housing has shown itself to be an unmitigated failure; rather than reducing crime, public housing has become its monumental festering place.

Today, public housing is the anticipated, and almost daily, stage for murders, rapes, muggings and thievery. Indeed, in the housing projects the number of crimes against persons, for instance, soars way above the city's crime rate. Homicide in the housing projects occurs 50 per cent more frequently per 100,000 residents than in the city as a whole. It is evident that the public housing crime rate also boosts the city's figures, so that crime frequency in the city, excluding the housing projects, would be lower than statistics reveal and thus the housing crime rate would be relatively higher.

That public housing is a hopeless disappointment as a crime deterrent cannot be denied. Yet New Yorkers are so deeply imbued with liberal dogma that possible objectors to housing proposals are exhaustingly reluctant to offer their opinions for fear of public censure.

A few months ago the New York *Journal-American* published an exposure of the ubiquitous crime and delinquency in the city's public housing projects. The paper's crusade included an expose of housing conditions—in itself a worthwhile endeavor—but failed to remind its audience of the assurances fed them by starry-eyed reformers during the New Deal, and instead confined itself to making a lame plea for added police protection in the houses.

Between July 15 and August 14 of last year, disclosed the *Journal-American*, 131 assaults were made upon tenants and passers-by in the projects. One made first page of 1962. Murders, occur in the projects in the average of two a month, and the average for all crimes is more than 200 a month. Residents of the General Grant Houses, the *Journal* divulged, were registering ten complaints a day.

The General Grant Houses in New York City

Page 57

Volume XX, No. 3—Section VII

Mr. Marcus was a student this past summer at the Human Events Journalism Workshop.

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This article, originally appearing in the Jan. 19, 1963 issue of *Human Events*, has recently sparked a controversy involving the chairman of the New York Housing Authority, Mr. William Reid, and the author of the article, Mr. Stephen Marcus. Mr. Reid's refutation and Mr. Marcus' replies are reprinted above.

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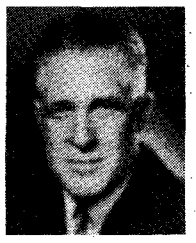
CAPITOL CAMERA

• Little-mentioned in the spate of comment on Gov. Romney's apparent interest in the GOP presidential nomination is the fact that the GOP pros in Michigan don't like it. They want Romney to run for a four-year term as governor next year; he's the best available man to defeat any Democratic opponent for that office. And the Democratic pros like the Romney-for-president talk because it gives them an argument against his re-election to the governorship on the grounds that he regards Lansing simply as a stepping-stone to Washington.



ROMNEY

• *The economy bloc in Congress last week turned its back on Gen. Lucius Clay (although not on his original spectacular report which recommended a drastic slash in the foreign aid program). Before a House committee, the general claimed Congress shouldn't cut the giveaway show below the $4-billion level. A $4-billion program, however, would be no cut at all—in fact, it would be $100 million more than Congress appropriated for the program last year.*

• After Astronaut Gordon Cooper's feat, the Kennedy wild spenders sought to nail down huge appropriations for a crash moon shot. Rep. Louis C. Wyman (R.-N.H.) of the House Appropriations Committee urged that we keep ahead of the Russians in the military aspect of space development, rather than concentrating on the "glamorous" moon shot, which is more in the nature of a scientific experiment. The Russians, he warns, threaten us in military control of space; if they win this race, they might say, "You stay out."

WYMAN

• *Rapid growth of the GOP in North Carolina has led to Republican boasts that next year they will elect the first GOP governor in the Tar Heel State since Reconstruction. This threat has inspired talk in the New Frontier about getting Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges to retire from the Cabinet and run for governor in North Carolina. Hodges is a former governor (1954-1961), is popular and would, it is said, be a formidable contender—the best the Democrats could muster in that state.*

• Significant of the subsiding of the New Frontier muck-raking of the steel industry is the news that Sen. Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.), prominent liberal and chairman of Congress' Joint Economic Committee, has dropped his group's probing of steel prices. As reported in this column on May 11, the steam has largely gone out of the "trust-busters" on Capitol Hill about a steel cartel because events show that the industry is marked by intense competition.

DOUGLAS

• *Note on our prestige abroad: The* Corriere della Sera, *the most prominent newspaper in Italy, in mentioning JFK's promise to protect Germany, remarks: "But the tragedy is that the Europeans no longer have the same confidence in American promises for their protection they once had."*

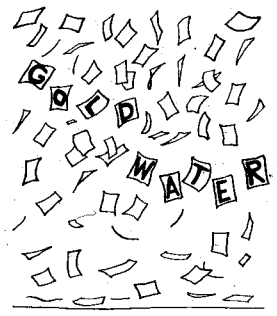
This Week in Washington

Goldwater Breakthrough Widens

The growing movement to make the Arizona senator president has been registering such important gains that the New Frontier displays alarm. Last week, a rapid sequence of developments piled up, highlighting this situation.

One such change was the recognition by the Gallup poll that Goldwater has become No. 1 choice of Republican voters for their party's presidential nomination. Gallup says that as of about May 15 Goldwater had 40 per cent of GOP voters, Rockefeller 30 per cent and Romney 22 per cent.

Next, Gallup made a survey of the strength—as of May 27—of both Goldwater and Rockefeller as potential opponents of Kennedy. "Kennedy vs. Goldwater" revealed JFK with 60 per cent and Goldwater 36 per cent—the Arizonan rising from 27 per cent in March, while the President dropped from 67 per cent. Rockefeller (as of May 27) got 32 per cent against Kennedy's 63 per cent, the same ratio as in March. Gallup commented: "In the wake of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's remarriage, Sen. Barry Goldwater makes a better showing than the New York governor against President Kennedy."



A more impressive test than that of the controversial Gallup appeared last week, when the reliable Indianapolis *News* revealed results of a recent (mid-April) poll of delegates to the 1960 Republican National Convention. The *News* sent ballots to 1,331 former delegates, many of whom are likely to go to the 1964 convention; 707 replied.

Goldwater received 48 per cent of the ballots, Rockefeller 34 per cent, Romney 3.4 per cent, with negligible totals for Scranton, Nixon, Morton and Hatfield. Of the three states with the largest number of convention delegates, Goldwater was named on a majority of the Pennsylvania and California ballots, while Rockefeller received the New York votes.

The Indianapolis paper explained that the ballots were mailed a few weeks before Rockefeller's remarriage and that approximately 100 were tabulated after the wedding—but no attempt was made to include the remarriage as a factor.

Rising Goldwater strength in two big-population states, far apart geographically, is seen in reports from California and Ohio. A private poll was taken in early May of registered Republicans in California's 26th (Jimmy Roosevelt's) and 28th (Alphonzo Bell's) Congressional Districts. Goldwater drew 67 per cent, Romney 15 per cent, Rockefeller 12 per cent, Nixon 4 per cent and Scranton 1 per cent.

An observer's report from Columbus, Ohio—telephoned to *Human Events* on May 21—told of reactions at a GOP $100-a-plate fund-raising dinner, 1,200 present. The principal speaker was GOP National Chairman William E. Miller, who said "We must support all Republicans," then mentioned Rockefeller (slight applause), Romney (slight applause), Gov. James Rhodes (a little more applause), Goldwater ("the place went wild for Goldwater—tremendous ovation").

One other item of significance: A May 27 wire-service dispatch from Chicago reported the National Committee of Young Adults for Rockefeller voted to disband because of the governor's divorce and remarriage, more than half the members quitting to support other potential GOP candidates. They feel Rockefeller's remarriage "has effectively knocked him out of contention for nomination for president next year."

All the above evidence, of course, was not wasted on the Kennedy strategists in the White House and on the Democratic National Committee. Even before these developments, however, it was believed that the keenly perceptive JFK and his aides—long worried by the Goldwater phenomenon—were anxious to act. A maneuver following the time-worn strategy of dividing the opposition was overdue, especially since the "king-makers" in the Eastern GOP have failed to produce a plausible candidate. Last week, therefore, the White House moved indirectly to assist them with some "managed news."

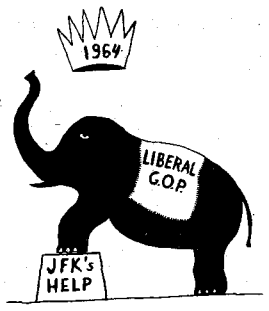
Across the country, many readers of the syndicated newspaper column of one Charles Bartlett may not know who he is, but in Washington literally everyone connected with politics (and who isn't?) knows that Bartlett is not only one of JFK's closest personal friends, he is the capital journalist closest to the President. If he hasn't been used frequently by JFK as a plant for stories the White House wishes to broadcast indirectly, then most of the boys in the press galleries are in serious error. Hence, Capitol Hill greeted two columns by Bartlett last week with unrestrained, hilarious, cynical mirth. "Kennedy moved."

First, with an impressive solemnity (worthy of a better pen), Bartlett mused with significant nods over a survey which he said was circulating among GOP "money-raisers"* and which "maintains" that Romney can beat President Kennedy by carrying 13 Southern and Border states, 9 Midwest states and 3 in the Far West. (Not even the most unrestrained Goldwater enthusiast claims all 13 Southern states, including Arkansas, but the "survey" does.)

Additionally, it suggests the South will be swayed by the fact that Romney is a Mormon—an interesting, but extraordinary (if not unique) political analysis. (Pros on Capitol Hill deem the "survey"—as described by Bartlett—an amateurish attempt to grab the long-time thesis of Goldwater supporters that the Arizonan can beat JFK by votes from the South and West.)

The document, says Bartlett, also offers ideas on strategy which Romney should use—such as placing no reliance on GOP members of Congress or the GOP National Committee, in short on the Republican party organization. In addition, it says that local Republicans in the South should be discouraged from running on the GOP ticket—which will be news to the GOP National Committee in view of the phenomenal rise in the GOP vote in Dixie.

Then, in the second news column, Bartlett—as befits a White House pet—not surprisingly comes through with the conclusion that Romney is the only possible potential candidate for the Republican party, in view of what has happened to Rocky and Goldwater's uncertainty about running. As to the latter, Bartlett frets over "the peril of placing the party's image in the hands of the rabid Right who could well undo all the efforts of the Eisenhower era to plant Republicanism in the middle ground of American politics." (Marked copy for Gettysburg?)



Thus, says the Kennedy friend, Romney seems "increasingly destined to be the man who will fill the vacuum of Republican national leadership." Pros on Capitol Hill, both Democratic and Republican (and not only Goldwater enthusiasts), offer an answer, looking at Arizona: "The vacuum has already been filled."

Bartlett ignored entirely the difficult, almost insuperable problems confronting Gov. Romney within Michigan, of which admirers of Romney elsewhere in the country probably are unaware. (See "Capital Camera" item, this page.)

McNamara

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's Achilles' heel—the TFX contract—was again glaringly exposed to public view last week. Sen. John McClellan's (D.-Ark.) Permanent Investigating Subcommittee came up with a new witness—an aviation engineer who formerly had worked with McNamara on the TFX—who poured forth voluminous, severely damaging testimony regarding the $6.5-billion contract.

Albert W. Blackburn, the engineer, declared the secretary's final decision could not have been based on the merits of the plans. Said Blackburn: It "could be justified only on the basis of a broad, high-level policy of the Administration."

Blackburn told the subcommittee that four months *after* the TFX contract was announced, McNamara

**Human Events* and various others on Capitol Hill have energetically tried to obtain a copy of this "survey"—so far in vain.

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set up "teams" to work on justifying his decision to overrule the military evaluations board and award the contract to General Dynamics instead of Boeing. The aviation engineer then charged McNamara with attempting to release data gathered "after the decision" in order to justify his stance. For this reason, said Blackburn, he could not, "in any conscience, remain associated with the office of the secretary of defense."

Freeman's Aide Out?

The New Frontier plans to keep Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman in his job, despite many demands to oust him as a result of the decisive turn-down he suffered on the wheat referendum. However, it is reported that Freeman's chief brain-truster and probably the bureaucrat most responsible for the discredited program, Willard W. Cochrane, director of the department's agricultural economics agency, will be eased out.

Punishing Wheat Farmers

Will Kennedy punish the wheat farmers for their independence in rejecting the Administration's "road to serfdom" control plan? Some in the capital answer by saying that actually the President already *has* moved to punish them. Right after his stunning wheat referendum defeat, JFK allegedly acted to prevent the dumping of wheat on the foreign market. This sounded like protection instead of chastisement.

Actually, it was something else. Kennedy reminded farmers they remain bound by the International Wheat Agreement, under which U. S. farmers as well as those of 10 other countries are pledged to buy and sell the grain within a range of $1.50 to about $1.90 a bushel. The President signed an executive order granting Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman broad authority "to prohibit or restrict import or export of wheat or wheat flour and to issue such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary" in order to carry out the wheat agreement.

The American Farm Bureau Federation labels this "scare tactics" to intimidate the wheat farmer. *Barron's* weekly has reported (May 27) Freeman "mulling over" schemes to create a government monopoly and "slam the door to the world market" on the American wheat grower.

This picture raises the possibility of the emergence of "illegal exports," with truckloads of bootleg grain finding their way to Canada and Mexico. "In sum," says *Barron's*, "government interference with the freedom to buy and sell is worse than immoral; it breeds crime."

Landrum-Griffin

Despite JFK's recent comforting words to industry, businessmen still are not too pleased with his actions. Rep. Robert P. Griffin (R.-Mich.), for example, points out in a recent issue of the University of Detroit *Law Journal* that the Kennedy-packed National Labor Relations Board has embarked on a campaign to undermine "blackmail picketing" provisions written into the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act. Griffin is a co-author of the act.

Blackmail picketing, says Griffin, is intended to force "employer recognition of a particular union and [to compel] his employes to join that union—all without regard for the preferences of the affected employes."

Griffin charges the board has undermined these provisions in numerous cases, the most clear-cut example being the Barker Bros. Corp. case. The undisputed facts in this case, states Griffin, are that the union picketed an employer for recognition even though it had not filed a representation petition, even though it picketed "with signs that were not truthful" and even though the result meant the "stopping or delaying" of deliveries and services to the employer on numerous occasions.

This, says the Landrum-Griffin co-author, clearly violates not only the blackmail picketing provisions but the "precise language of 8(b)(7)(c), which states that picketing can take place only if it has the 'purpose of truthfully advising the public.'" But the NLRB majority found no wrongdoing on the part of the picketers and excused the untruthful picketing on the grounds the public probably was not deceived.

Dodd's Test-Ban Proposal

Inside their cloakroom, senators are saying President Kennedy has gratefully welcomed Sen. Thomas Dodd's (D.-Conn.) recently introduced test-ban proposal. Kennedy's pacifist advisers, so it is claimed, have steered the Administration into such a jam at the Geneva talks that JFK would like to get "off the hook." And Dodd's proposal—signed by a number of leading Democrats—would let him do just that.

The President's acutely embarrassing position, as Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wisc.) has pointed out, is that his Administration is pushing for radical disarmament proposals the Senate won't accept. JFK apparently realizes that too.

Thus, with the adoption of the Dodd proposal, the President could instruct his Geneva negotiators to say to the Soviets: "We cannot go further in our concessions. The U. S. Senate, which must ratify any treaty we agree upon, has just adopted a resolution against atmospheric and underwater tests, but this is as far as it will go."

Hence the Dodd proposal—misinterpreted by many, including some of its boosters, as a "disarmament" measure—is actually an attempt to roll back the Administration's "concession course" at Geneva. Unlike the New Frontier's present proposals, the Dodd measure would allow unlimited tests underground and in outer space for perfecting a wide spectrum of nuclear weapons.

Sen. Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.), however, opposed the Dodd resolution in one particular aspect: He is very much against the clause which would have the Senate favor America's *unilateral* abandonment of nuclear testing underwater or in the atmosphere, these tests to be resumed only if the Soviets initiate such testing themselves. Dodd says this already is existing policy and claims an open commitment to such a plan would—once and for all—eliminate the fallout bugaboo exploited by fuzzy-headed liberals for the purpose of stampeding the country into an early abandonment of all nuclear testing. But Thurmond strongly believes continued testing in the atmosphere—the perfect laboratory to test weapons, since during a war all missiles must be fired through the atmosphere—is so vital that the Senate should not irrevocably commit itself against such tests. To do so, he feels—and many other military experts agree—may be a strategic mistake.

Blow to Medicare

Another blow to JFK's Social Security-financed Medicare will come on June 30, the last day of fiscal 1963. Officials of the security trust fund system predict the fund will plummet three-quarters of a billion dollars into the red on that date. In the past six years, the fund has paid out $5 billion more than it has taken in.

Left-Wing Lunacy

The mounting grass-roots and congressional opposition to much of the New Frontier's foreign policy has caused the liberals to push the panic button. This opposition, feel the New Frontier eggheads, is effectively hampering the "co-existence" line peddled by the Administration. Thus the ADA-type liberals have kicked off a feverish campaign to stop such opposition "pressures" from hampering the New Frontier's "let's-be-friendly-with-Moscow" line.

The most visible manifestation of this hysteria occurred last week when the Center of the Study for Democratic Institutions—a chief subsidiary of the left-wing Fund for the Republic—released one of its weird pamphlets, called "The Elite and the Electorate." The booklet includes the opinions of two stalwart New Frontier senators—J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) and Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.).

Clark, a vociferous liberal, said the remedy for democratic government is to "strengthen the executive at the expense of the legislature." But it was Sen. Fulbright—the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee—who made the strongest pitch for increasing executive powers.

"The foreign policy powers of Congress under the Constitution enable it to implement, modify or thwart the president's proposal," he remarked. Fulbright thought this was all wrong since "congressmen are acutely susceptible to local and regional pressures and to the waves of fear and emotion that sometimes sweep over public opinion." The Fulbright remedy? "I think that we must contemplate the further enhancement of presidential authority in foreign affairs."

NOT MERELY GOSSIP

• Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara is vigorously opposing recommendations by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the service secretaries for renewed atomic testing in the atmosphere. This testing is vital—say the military men—for the purpose of developing a U.S. anti-missile missile and the construction of a reliable nose cone that won't burn up in the atmosphere. The Russians are allegedly ahead of the United States in both areas.

MC NAMARA

• *One of the most effective arguments used by the American Farm Bureau Federation in its fight against the Administration's wheat plan was touched off by Sec. Orville Freeman's boast of using electronic instrument techniques for "the management of the country's agriculture." The AFBF warned that approval of Freeman's wheat plan would cause each farmer to become a "faceless punch card."*

• Last week, the Kemper Insurance group of companies filed suit against the American Broadcasting Co., as a result of the ABC televising (on the Howard K. Smith program) of a show called the "Political Obituary of Richard M. Nixon," featuring as a guest Alger Hiss. Last November, the Kemper group discontinued its sponsorship of the Smith program and then was sued by ABC. Now the Kemper group's suit seeks to enjoin ABC's suit, additionally charging the network with violation of anti-trust laws.

SMITH

• *Adam Yarmolinsky, a former secretary of the left-wing Fund for the Republic, is said to be the chief "security" official of a new security section being established in the office of Walter T. Skallerup Jr., deputy assistant secretary of defense. Expressing alarm over the situation, some Defense Department officials say the new group plans to take over the missions of better qualified Pentagon agencies which presently give thorough security check-ups to top defense officials.*

• Taxpayers wonder why government costs are rising and federal bureaucrats are so often absent from their desks. Sen. A. Willis Robertson (D.-Va.), chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee and an ardent economy advocate, remarks that there are bills before Congress to create five new legal holidays (on top of the eight at present). Another national holiday, the Virginian says, would cost the federal government about $70 million; for all American private industry, it would run to approximately $900 million.

ROBERTSON

• *In a recent column, ex-diplomat and Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce said that JFK, allegedly a knowledgeable student of history, had accomplished one—but only one—significant historical event: "He permitted Moscow to enslave Cuba."*

• Chairman Carl Vinson (D.-Ga.) and ranking Republican Leslie C. Arends (Ill.) of the House Armed Services Committee have each introduced a bill requiring members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff be appointed for four years. Since Vinson has supposedly been a supporter of Robert S. McNamara, this proposal is considered a direct slap at the defense secretary for firing Chief of Naval Operations George Anderson. Anderson will have served in his job for just two years.

ARENDS

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As in 1948, so in 1963

Said the *Wall Street Journal*, May 1, 1963:

Administration officials are so desperate in their need to sell the foreign aid program to the public that they are now stressing a special approach; namely, that:

"Whatever aid may or may not be doing abroad, four of each five aid dollars are spent in the United States. Individual lawmakers are being told just how many jobs (and votes) might be lost in their areas if they approve a cutback in spending.

"The aid program has surely fallen apart from the goal of helping foreigners if it now must be sold as a domestic political slush fund."

After reading this extract from an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* only a few weeks ago, read the article below. It was not written this year, or last. It appeared in *Human Events*, Oct. 1, 1955. Author Howard Buffet was a congressman from Nebraska who retired in 1952 after eight years' service. His message is more valid today than it was eight years ago.

Pocketbook Patriots

The Consequences of Foreign Aid

By HOWARD BUFFETT

(Reprints of this page are available. See page 158.)

Back in the days of vaudeville circuits, actors ate regularly if they were able to satisfy the paying customers. The usual test was the amount of applause their performances generated. Applause meters being unknown, the sharp theater manager, wherever he was in the house, kept one ear cocked for the response from the audience as each act was on stage. Accordingly, clever actors developed ingenious strategems designed to bring loud and sustained applause.

HOWARD BUFFETT

"From the beginning of elective governments, the dream of every political boss has been to buy elections with the voter's own money."

The scurviest, yet most successful of these tricks was composed of a sidle to one of the wings, a quick grab of a carefully planted American flag, followed by a bombastic flag-waving march around the stage while the orchestra blared, "The Stars and Stripes Forever."

This pitch was practically foolproof. The yokels in the audience whooped and hollered furiously, equating individual patriotism with the loudest and most sustained applause. Disgusted intelligent customers who would have liked to disapprove by silence, or even to give the ham the "raspberry," didn't dare do either. They realized that such behavior would probably be considered disrespectful of the flag and hence unpatriotic. So even they would join in the response.

Modern Trickery

Fortunately the advent of movies and TV has saved our children from this pocketbook patriot of Gay Nineties vaudeville. But today all American citizens constitute a captive paying audience for a modern adaptation of this flag-waving trick. The stage is Washington, D. C., and the actors are the politicians and their business and labor confederates who annually drive through Congress a multi-billion foreign aid levy against our earnings.

At first glance, a comparison of the ham-actor's phoney patriotic trick with foreign aid may seem an unwarranted and harsh appraisal of those responsible for these annual giveaways. Yet even a quick check of a fraction of the evidence may cause you to conclude that if anyone gets unfairly treated by the comparison, it is the flag-waving actor.

Nobody had to go to the show, and the ham actor had to eat. American taxpayers, however, have no choice on the foreign giveaways. They must pay and pay, not for a relatively harmless bit of humbuggery, but for a multi-billion dollar pork barrel that has ominously undermined two main pillars of freedom, financial solvency and upright elections.

How It's Done

Does this charge startle you? Let's take a look at some of the evidence. The year was 1948. Congressman Jones was eating a late supper in his apartment. It had been a long day in the House. The Marshall Plan of foreign handouts had just been up for passage for the first time. The phone rang. Answering it, his wife called, "John, it's long distance for you from home."

At the other end of the line was Fred Smith, who had regularly raised the campaign funds for Jones' election victories. As he began to talk the pleasant expression on the congressman's face faded.

"Hello, Jones, this is Fred Smith. I'm calling to tell you to get yourself another finance chairman for your campaign this year, because I'm all through working for you. In voting against the Marshall Plan today, you tried to beat me out of a big piece of business that was headed my way. I'm through with you."

"Wait a minute, Fred," interrupted the Congressman, "I didn't vote against the Marshall Plan. I voted for it. I just favored cutting it down several hundred millions so that it wouldn't be quite as big a load on our taxpayers.

"After all, our Republican campaigns have been based on the pledge that we would get national finances in order, haven't they? You helped me prepare those campaign pledges. We're in control now. Don't you expect me to try to keep those pledges?"

Now it was finance chairman Smith, who interrupted: "Listen to me, Jones. I'm not interested in your pious oratory about economy and cutting government spending. You recorded yourself in favor of a cut in the Marshall Plan. That reduction would have cut me personally out of between 25 and 35 thousand dollars of commissions each year, so I'm through with you. My friends and I aren't going to work again for anyone who takes our help and then works against our chances to make some dough. Good night."

A few months later came the 1948 general elections. My colleague, who had been a tower of strength to the Republicans in Congress, was defeated. In his place was elected an all-out New Dealer, whose votes indicate about as much interest in a balanced budget as a pig has in the amenities of Emily Post. Probably the commission-minded businessman is not content. With only a change in names for obvious reasons, the foregoing account records an incident that followed passage of the first Marshall Plan giveaway.

Now let us look at another revealing incident in the early years of so-called foreign aid. I have before me a booklet with this heading, "Pennsylvania and the Marshall Plan." The subtitle reads, "How U. S. Dollars Spent for European Recovery Aid Business and Employment in Pennsylvania." The booklet was issued by the Office of Information, Economic Co-operation Administration. The inside of the 33-page booklet made pleasant reading for pocketbook patriots in Pennsylvania. Here are samples:

"Four million tons of ECA-financed goods move through Pennsylvania ports in 27 months." "Workers numbering 33,800 received a year's employment in 1949 through Marshal Plan orders . . . " "Firms in 92 Pennsylvania communities get $31,-702,000 in ECA-financed orders in four months."

With 11 pages of the booklet devoted to naming communities and detailing the "benefits" they received from the Marshall Plan, the bureaucrat authors must have felt that labor was not adequately recognized. And so the last page begins with this heading, Pennsylvania Labor Officials Cooperate. There followed a list of 30 or more Keystone State labor officials, carefully identified by their official titles in the AFL-CIO or United Mine Workers.

Now what is the significance in 1955 of these incidents from the early days of the now continuous foreign aid handouts? Perhaps part of the answer can be found in the vote on foreign aid in the House on June 30, 1955. Six Eastern industrial states —New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts—surround New York City. From those states 98 congressmen voted on foreign aid. By a margin of 8 to 1, they supported foreign aid handouts. Eighty-eight voted "yes," only 10 voted "no."

Strange Alliance?

At first glance, the alliance of big business and big labor on the same side of an issue seems hard to understand. They are usually represented to the public as implacable enemies. But if a "fast buck" multiplied by millions can be siphoned out of the public treasury, apparently these traditional foes can put on double harness without trouble.

Permanent Gravy Train

With these realities in mind, consider foreign aid from the standpoint of the average candidate for Congress in an industrialized district. If he is a Republican, he must have industry support, or he gets no financial backing from that "source." If he is a Democrat, he requires labor support both for finances and organization.

The upshot of this situation is that the incumbent seeking re-election or the nominee out to unseat him, be he Democrat or Republican, is cornered. To get the financial backing he must have to conduct an effective campaign; he must be supported by the pocketbook patriots to whom international spending has become a permanent gravy train.

The consequences of this situation are manifold. Economically and morally, foreign spending takes us a long step toward the very communism it is supposed to combat. Foreign aid consists of compulsory taking of the earnings and resources of taxpayers by political officials for purposes over which the American people have no effective say-so. Russia operates the same way except that there the seizure approaches the total of production. Here the seizure is much less by comparison, but the rate of its increase since 1939 could even make a Muscovite official bow in respect.

From the beginning of elective governments, the dream of every political boss has been to buy elections with the voter's own money. The evil effects of foreign giveaways are too remote to be truly understood by the American electorate.

Of course to get away with all this, a powerful emotional appeal is required—one that will smother public indignation and resistance. It must be admitted that in this effort they have achieved a success that would delight Machiavelli. And payroll patriots have done it by creating the same sort of situation that baffled the intelligent patron in the vaudeville theater—a cunning implication that opponents lacked patriotism.

"You are willing to endanger our nation to save a few dollars" is a slur that causes the most stouthearted American to cringe. To be called "unpatriotic" is a smear that most people cannot take, no matter how fabricated and unfair the accusation.

Big business, big labor and big government all find international spending to their liking. Certainly no one can deny that the giveaways have augmented the power of each member of this triumvirate.

Nor is it possible to deny that this power is acquired at the expense of government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

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Rocky's Remarriage and 1964

Liberal columnists have been ridiculing the idea that Rockefeller's divorce and remarriage will hurt his chances for nomination and election to the presidency.

One of their favorite cynical arguments is that "Rockefeller needs only to win the votes of those who are divorced and those who wish they were."

Feeling that the majority of the country is much more disturbed than these liberals, *Human Events* conducted a survey of Protestant clergymen to get their opinions. Because the Catholic Church is sternly opposed to divorce and remarriage, its clergy was not contacted. The Catholic attitude is expressed in the extracts reprinted below from the *Catholic Review* of Baltimore; *The Witness*, the Dubuque diocesan weekly, and the *Catholic Universe Bulletin* of Cleveland, Ohio.

To survey the Protestant clergy, *Human Events* sent a postcard to 1,000 pastors. To most questionaires, only about 10 per cent usually will respond. To this postcard survey, 604 have responded so far, with more still coming.

The questions asked and the percentage of response is shown on the next two pages, along with typical comments from ministers representing every section of the union.

What GOP leaders must consider is that those who take a liberal attitude toward divorce, usually are liberal on other matters; they tend to vote Democratic. Protestants who are hostile to divorce tend to be conservative on political issues; they tend to vote Republican. The Republican party is not so strong numerically that it can afford the loss of many of these natural supporters and still have a chance to win a presidential election.

Another factor that will influence GOP delegates is the Catholic vote. Many Catholic conservatives voted for Kennedy in 1960 as a means of proving that Catholics were not second-class citizens—that a Catholic could be elected to the highest office in the land. That point has now been made. They would like to vote against Kennedy's liberalism. But some will not do so if it means putting into the White House a couple whose romance—it is well known—started while each was married to another.

The sample letters printed on the next two pages—representing a near-unanimous opinion of the responding Protestant clergy—indicate a deep sense of outrage over the Rockefeller-Murphy marriage. Since these letters represent an important and influential portion of American leadership opinion, it is obvious that it would be fatal to Republican chances in 1964 if the more conservative of the two major parties chose Nelson Rockefeller.

The Catholic Press Speaks

From *The Weekly Review*

The Weekly Paper of the Archdiocese of Baltimore

Since family bonds are the magnetic forces which hold a healthy society together, healthy societies have never regarded marriage as a strictly private affair.

Thus, even our own modern American society, in its dubious state of health, still requires the public formality of a wedding license. And it didn't take Red Russia very long to realize the disastrous effects of divorces arranged by postcards.

Were Gov. Rockefeller a mere private citizen, then, his first marriage would not have been a strictly private affair.

Since he is, in fact, very much a public figure and even a potential presidential candidate, public repercussions are bound to follow his marriage to a recently divorced woman so soon after the break-up of his own first marriage of 31 years. . . .

We have neither the right nor the desire to judge the governor's private conscience. But we see nothing to regret in the widespread belief that the average American voter wants the White House occupied by a family which *as a family* embodies basic exemplary qualities.

At a time when the institutions of marriage and family are under such lethal attack in this country, should not the average American wisely recognize the influence of the First Family by wanting it to be first in every essential respect?. . .

One friend of the governor's, trying to make the political best of his remarriage, stated that voters prefer a candidate to have a wife at his side.

Our question is, "Whose?"

And we don't regard the question as a merely facetious one. Nor, we think, will a vast number of Americans, whether Catholic or not.

From *The Witness*

The Weekly Paper of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, Iowa

The governor's action is a tragedy and most damaging to society even for those who approve of divorce in principle. Thinking people, even those who aprove of divorce in some instances, all recognize that divorce has become all too frequent. Only a generation ago it was a major scandal and a shocking thing. Today it is so commonplace people accept it without any manifestation of disgust at all.

Gov. Rockefeller's action was altogether legal. Because he is highly respected, he will be imitated by many others. So far as the public is concerned, his performance has all been neat and tidy. The letter of the law has been scrupulously observed. It is all regrettable, of course, but we are told everyone will be happier because of the new arrangement.

We read, after all, that it is nobody's business but their own. This is sheer nonsense. Those who say his remarriage is a personal affair are dead wrong.

The marriage status is a matter of public interest. This is evident from what the courts say about marriage.

The Supreme Court of the United States has spoken of marriage as "an institution in the maintenance of which in its purity the public is deeply interested, for it is the foundation of the family and society, without which there would be neither civilization nor progress." (Maynard versus Hill, 125 U. S. 190). . . .

Gov. Rockefeller's action undermines any trend toward underlining the moral obligations connected with marriage. The changes in the public attitude toward divorce have already become alarming.

What greater cloak of respectability could be thrown over the cancer of divorce than to have a potential presidential candidate endorse it by his own actions?

The resolve to settle matrimonial difficulties through divorce will come easier, now that so prominent a personage has led the way.

From the *Catholic Universe Bulletin*

Cleveland, Ohio

The character of a public figure is public business. And something about a man's character is indicated when he separates, after more than 30 years of marriage, from his wife, the mother of his children, and enters into a union with a woman who, as another man's wife, was a family friend and a member of his political entourage.

Msgr. George Kelly of the Family Life Bureau in the New York archdiocese says rightly that this behavior of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York State is not a private but a public affair. It is public because Rockefeller holds public office and aspires to the highest office in the United States, the presidency.

He wants our votes, and we have a right and a duty, in deciding whether to give them, to take into account all the factors involved in judgment of his integrity and maturity. We need not apologize for having serious doubts about the maturity and dependability, especially in a crisis, of a man who at 54 does what Rockefeller has done.

The general press has had its say, and by and large what it has said is the slop we have come to expect from it in such matters. The general press will consign a public official to outer darkness for accepting a gift of a vicuna coat or a refrigerator. But the general press has almost no understanding of what marriage is, and little reverence for it.

Methodist Bishop Fred Pierce Corson of Philadelphia spoke the truth, I feel confident, when he said that Rockefeller's behavior was "an appalling shock to the sensibilities and the sense of fair play of the rank and file of Americans." Bishop Corson added:

"For professional politicians to assume that the Rockefeller divorce and remarriage might affect the Catholic vote but will not affect the Protestant vote, is totally to misread the Protestant mind.

"The American public is awakening to the terrible and tragic damage which easy divorce is inflicting upon persons as individuals, in common life and in society."

—JOSEPH BREIG

ROCKY'S PLANS

From the Allen-Scott Report

New York Republican rank-and-file leaders are going to call the turn on what Gov. Nelson Rockefeller does about running for president.

He will leave it up to them to set his course.

That's the strategy Rockefeller and his key lieutenants have decided on to answer the widely debated issue of what effect his remarriage is having on his White House ambitions. Their backstage plan is as follows:

Accompanied by his new wife, Rockefeller will visit every county in New York. In this whirlwind tour that will take about a month, local leaders and other party workers will be given the opportunity to "size up" Mrs. Rockefeller, and be consulted on the perplexing presidential issue.

In his statewide sounding out of the GOP rank-and-file, Rockefeller, in effect, will say to them:

"It's up to you to cast the die on what I do. If I am to get anywhere in seeking the presidential nomination, I have to have the solid backing of my own state. Unless I do, there is no use of my even thinking of running. So it's wholly up to you people. If you're ready to go all the way down the line with me, I'll make the fight. But if you have any doubts, then that's that."

Rockefeller also proposes to take his new wife to several out-of-state meetings and receptions. Among the cities under consideration are Washington, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago.

Gov. Rockefeller and his new bride.

The New Yorker is firmly convinced the second Mrs. Rockefeller is the best answer to political doubts about his remarriage, and that she will "sweep away uncertainties and "misgivings" when Republican leaders and workers meet her and get to know her. His aim is to do that as speedily and extensively as possible.

It is his intention to announce a final decision by August 1.

Meanwhile, a Rockefeller poll produced a jolting surprise—Sen. Barry Goldwater led with 42 per cent among GOP voters, and another 20 per cent leaning toward him. Rockefeller and Gov. George Romney trailed, in that order.

(Distributed 1962 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

Protestant Ministers Survey on Next Page

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Dear Clergyman: The marriage of Governor Rockefeller has stirred a great debate regarding its moral, political and social impact.

We are asking the following question of you as a clergyman:

1) Should the voters consider Nelson Rockefeller's marriage to Mrs. Murphy a factor in considering him for the presidency of the United States?

2) If so, how important do you consider this factor to be?

This query is limited to the marriage factor.

Your immediate reply on the attached postage-paid card will be appreciated.

HUMAN EVENTS

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1) I believe the voters should ☐ should not ☐

consider Governor Rockefeller's marriage to Mrs. Murphy a factor in considering him for the presidency of the United States.

2) If you think they should, please indicate how important you think this factor is. Comment below:

SIGNATURE:
ADDRESS: STATE:

This postcard was sent to 1,000 Protestant clergymen throughout the country. As of press time, 604 replies—an unusually high percentage—have been received. Of these, 544—or 90.1 per cent—said the voters "should" consider Gov. Rockefeller's marriage to Mrs. Murphy a factor in considering him for the presidency of the United States. On these two pages is a representative sample of the views of these 544 ministers.

(Reprints of these two pages are available. See page 158).

83 Protesta

Typical Comment:

ALABAMA

Rev. Howard K. Blazer Sr., Colvin Street Church of Christ, Anniston, Ala. "Very important because the divorce problem is one of the greatest factors in the decay of fallen nations and kingdoms of the past and is contrary to God's law."

ARKANSAS

Rev. Robert Williams, Unity Baptist Church, Conway, Ark. "I do not think it would be a very good example for the president of the United States to set for the young people of our nation. I am firmly convinced that our country would be in much better shape morally if the leaders of the nation would be the examples they should be."

Rev. William R. Simpson, Missionary Baptist Church, Redfield, Ark. "Enough to disqualify him for the office."

CALIFORNIA

Rev. R. Norheim, Calvary Lutheran Church, Fullerton, California. "A divorced and remarried man is a poor example to serve in public office in these days of increasing cases of divorce. It also reveals a weakness of character."

Rev. Emlyn H. Jones, Grace Brethren Church, San Bernardino, California. "In the realm of marriage, the law of God is involved. In the Bible, God's only revelation to men today, we discover what that law is. If the governor thinks so little of God's law, I would be afraid to make him the president of the United States."

COLORADO

Rev. Clarence E. Herrin. First Christian Church, Derby, Colo. "his moral standards are that of liberalism—that is, God was left out. Without any doubt, this same type of standard would be his choice in other fields of life. We need God-fearing men."

CONNECTICUT

Rev. John R. Carlson, West Hartford Bible Church, West Hartford, Conn. "One who is president of the United States is an example in personal affairs as well as his many other responsibilities. A divorced man has no right to seek the presidency of the United States, for he is not a proper example to its citizens, especially the youth."

Rev. Earl M. Lehman, Grace Baptist Church, Milford, Conn. "I believe this issue to be vital in that the president holds the highest position in the country and should be in a position to uphold the sanctity of marriage."

DELAWARE

Pastor Fred Wittman, New Ark Union Church, Wilmington, Del. "Vitally important! Unless the moral standard of Americans has dropped so low that we no longer care about the influence the President wields over our younger generation! Adlai Stevenson was affected, so will be Rockefeller."

DIST. OF COLUMBIA

Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C. "It has an important bearing upon the total concept of the position. Americans tend to idealize the occupants of the executive mansion as symbolic of the best in American life. It has an important bearing upon the stability of the persons and sanctity and solidarity of the family unit."

Rev. J. Penton Hunter, Assemblies of God Church, Washington, D. C. "As a leader, solemn vows should be held sacred and protected; such looseness could cause him to be held suspect in other areas."

FLORIDA

Rev. Robert W. Shaw, First Christian Church, Miami, Fla. "I think that the presidency ought to set an example of morality and family responsibility. Rockefeller has not."

Rev. Paul L. Hartsfield, Hendrick's Memorial Methodist Church, Jacksonville, Fla. "The home is our basic institution. There are many indications of its losing its solidarity of which divorce is the main cause. I feel it would not be right for our chief executive and his wife—upon whom looks all the world—for them both to be divorced and remarried. I feel the negative effects are simply too great."

Jonathan B. Coffey, Rector, All Angels Church, Episcopal, Miami Springs, Fla. "To me, it is an extremely important feature. His divorce was most unfortunate, but to remarry after divorce forms the point of a parting-of-the-ways to me."

GEORGIA

Rev. W. Howard Ethington, First Baptist Church, Barnesville, Ga. "The home of the president should be the ideal for our nation. The Rockefeller episode is a disgrace."

IDAHO

Rev. Floyd L. Yokers, St. John's Lutheran Church, American Falls, Idaho. "A man who has been married for 30 years should certainly be able to continue his marriage. If he can't manage his own household how can he guide the United States? Also, by accepting him as president we are putting our stamp of approval on one of our worst social evils: divorce."

ILLINOIS

Rev. Ernest Louderman, Christian Church, Colchester, Ill. "The highest office in our nation should set a better example. There are by far too many divorces now."

Rev. John A. Bagley, Regular Baptist Church, Griggsville, Ill. "Anyone who cannot run his own household, surely cannot run our nation."

Rev. E. Joseph Vanderworth, D.D., United Presbyterian Church, Heyworth, Ill. "The moral and spiritual tone of our nation has slipped too far already. We cannot afford leadership today that disregards these things."

INDIANA

Rev. Howard H. Western, Fifth Street Methodist Church, Anderson, Ind. "Important enough that he shouldn't even be considered for nomination for president. We have men who can do a better job of their family affairs. *Our leaders should be examples for good!*"

Rev. David L. Carrew, Parke Memorial Presbyterian Church, Evansville, Ind. "I think it would set a bad example for the homes of the nation."

IOWA

Rev. Melvin Voss, First Reformed Church, Knoxville, Iowa. "I think that the remarriage of Gov. Rockefeller shows a moral weakness on his part. I think our presidential candidates should be of outstanding moral character. I think this is quite important in the voters' consideration."

KANSAS

Rev. Darrell Moore, Church of the Nazarene, Emporia, Kan. "The home is the foundation of our nation. To have a man in the White House who has deliberately wrecked two homes would have a devastating effect on the morals of our nation, and would be a tremendous factor in the continued erosion of the American home."

Rev. A. R. Nichols, Assembly of God Church, Arcadia, Kan. "No nation is stronger than the homes of the nation. It would be a tragedy to have a man with Mr. Rockefeller's marital record as our president. Example counts for much."

KENTUCKY

Rev. Harry C. Randolph, Columbis Christian Church, Columbis, Ky. "I believe that it is important because: (1) If this indicates his standard of morals, then what can the people expect in other moral issues in which a president has much influence? (2) If he has so judged the influence of such a decision, then how would he judge in other decisions of the presidency?"

LOUISIANA

Rev. Glynn V. Purdy, Church of Christ, Alexandria, La. "Nomination not probable; election now impossible!"

Rev. Jim Redwine, Emmanuel Baptist Church, Alexandria, La. "I feel it is of great importance. The president should be married only once."

MAINE

Rev. Claude J. Wivell, Augusta Baptist Church, Augusta, Maine. "The Bible says 'If a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?' Should we expect less in the chief executive of the land than of a minister of a local church? No! On moral grounds we are opposed to Rockefeller for president."

Rev. Harry Hubbling, Glenburn Evangelical Convenant, Bangor, Maine. "The example set by Governor Rockefeller and Mrs. Murphy is not one which America should follow. Thus, morally, we cannot elevate to the highest public office one who in private life does not set a good example."

MARYLAND

Rev. Warren E. Tamkin, Grace Brethren Church, Hagerstown, Md. "It is extremely important because it deals with the matter of important aspects of morality. His example in marriage would be a poor one for our society."

Rev. Warren H. Ranck, Free Methodist Church, Rockville, Md. "The president of the United States should set the example of a home life in a day when American family life is crumbling."

Rev. Cromwell G. Roskamp, First Orthodox Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, Md. "The moral factor in the thinking of a man who wants to be president, and yet who will deliberately break up two homes, deprive two sets of children the blessing of parents united in love and holy matrimony, is something pitiful to behold. A man like that for president?"

MASSACHUSETTS

Rev. R. E. Honsey, Harvard Street Lutheran Church, Arlington, Mass. "I feel very strongly that even the consideration of a man who forces his wife to divorce him and who marries a divorcee so soon after her own divorce is an indication of the weakness of the moral people in our country."

Rev. F. B. Downs, St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Lowell, Mass. "Very important. A man not bound by his vows, his duty nor his church is not to be trusted with government."

Rev. M. F. Schadegg, Rollstone Congregational Church, Fitchburg, Mass. "A man who cannot solve the problems of marriage should be disqualified as a president."

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t Ministers Say 'No' to Rocky

f He Cannot Wisely Run a Home—How a Country?"

MICHIGAN

Rev. Harry G. Kellogg, First Congregational Church, Ann Arbor, Mich. "My real feeling is that Rockefeller's candidacy is *out,* and out forever. He should not even be considered at all."

Rev. John Gilewicz, Christ Baptist Church, Detroit, Mich. "The remarriage is very important! A public figure should be an example in his married life."

Rev. George E. Matthews, Centreville Baptist Church, Centreville, Mich. "The Bible gives no grounds for divorce—especially after 31 years of marriage. Divorce destroys the home and society."

Rev. William Frisbey, First Baptist Church, Alanson, Mich. "People look up to our president and as the leader of our nation he should set a high moral standard. Divorce is degrading. 'Hollywood does it' and if the president practices divorce, what an impact this would have on the future generation."

Rev. W. Robert Palmer, Church of Christ, Buchanan, Mich. "A person's private morals and attitudes can not be separated nor divorced from his public life."

MINNESOTA

Rev. Russell P. Nelson, First Baptist Church, Bricelyn, Minn. "I believe it is quite important. Such a divorce and marriage is forbidden in the Bible."

MISSISSIPPI

Rev. Don G. Moore, Church of Christ, Cleveland, Miss. "Men's deeds indicate their character. The conduct of his opponents may not indicate a deeper conviction of right or wrong. But how can one's qualifications be judged if not by what they do?"

MISSOURI

Rev. Kenneth H. Owens, Atlanta Christian Church, Atlanta, Mo. "It seems to me that this is indicative of a certain amount of instability which could carry over into such an important post as the presidency."

Rev. Lyle Armstrong, Christian Church, Clarence, Mo. "I believe Mr. Rockefeller was aware of the fact that his second marriage would be a factor in his bid for the presidency of the United States. I also believe the nominating committee of the Republican party will seek elsewhere for a nominee."

MONTANA

Rev. R. M. Foster, Community Church, Malta, Mont. "Very important since it reveals his moral convictions and stamina. Men in public office often need to stand on moral principles."

NEBRASKA

Rev. M. T. Duckow, Zion Lutheran Church, Croodston, Neb. "The moral fiber of our civic leaders must be one that can generate the highest respect from the voters."

Rev. James L. Shaw, Christian Church, Doane College, Crete, Neb. "Very important, especially coming so soon after her divorce. It seems much was going on while she was married and we don't want this type of president."

Rev. Delbert I. Thies, Christ Lutheran Church, Juniata, Neb. "It is a moral, not a political issue as I see it. Our president should be a good 'example,' in all areas."

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Rev. J. I. Johnson, West Congregational Church, Concord, N. H. "Divorce, remarriage, a younger woman—all symptoms of emotional immaturity. They violate deep feelings of many women."

Rev. Donald G. Bentley, First Baptist Church, Goffstown, N. H. "Personal morality and politics can not be separated. If he acts one way in private, another in public, his trustworthiness is questioned by me."

Rev. R. H. Lewis, Congregational Church, N. H. "In general, I think the old-time New Englanders would feel that after this he could not be depended on to carry a hard job through."

NEW JERSEY

Rev. Raymond N. Rowand, Laurel Road Community Church, Blackwood, N. J. "The president should set the highest example. I believe this would weigh heavy against him in thinking of many voters."

Rev. K. W. Masteller, Haddon Heights Baptist Church, Haddon Heights, N. J. "The moral climate of our nation has been deteriorating so definitely and so rapidly that everything possible should be done to halt any further decline. Rockefeller should no longer serve in public office."

Rev. Maurice C. Lundh, Bethel Baptist Church, Montclair, N. J. "It would seem that an apparent irresponsible attitude toward the basic unit of society would indicate the same or greater irresponsibility toward the larger units, even government."

Rev. David E. Miller, Glendale Bible Protestant Church, Belmar, N. J. "I think it should end his political life because of the moral principle involved."

Rev. John Davies, Calvary Orthodox Presbyterian Church, Wildwood, N. J. "I could not vote for a man who gives the example Rockefeller's divorce and remarriage presents. The family is the foundation of the nation, and for a president to give an example of tearing down this foundation is unthinkable."

Rev. Orville I. Wright, Cedar Brook Bible Protestant Church, Cedar Brook, N. J. "Very important. He disregarded the commands of God and the marriage vows he took. Would he do the same in respect to the vows he would take if head of the country?"

NEW YORK

Rev. Willard R. Benedict, Brooklyn Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. "Most important! It involves a principle of morality inherent in the history of the United States. To gloss over this issue at this time would indicate the total breakdown of a moral code of ethics."

Rev. Thomas Hermiz, Christian Union Church, Endwell, N. Y. "Divorce and remarriage are serious under any consideration, but are most serious when the parties involved have divorced for no reason except an attraction for 'some one else.' It is immoral from a New Testament viewpoint and the influence on our youth could be devastating if the public does not react to it. I, for one, react. 'Rocky' cannot have my vote for any office."

Rev. Roland L. Miller, First Baptist Church, Westerlo, N. Y. "The American way of life has always considered the home as basic to our culture and its maintenance of upmost importance. The example of the president of the United States in this respect would be noticed by the whole world."

Rev. E. W. Darling, First Assembly of God Church, Rome, N. Y. "We believe as a leader in our country we need a man morally stable to set an 'above reproach' example for all nations to behold."

Dr. Willis W. Virtue, Baptist Bible Seminary, Johnson City, N. Y. "I believe this a major factor. America cannot endure if we continue to destroy the foundation of our homes."

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. Mark A. Woolard, Scuppernong Church of Christ, Creswell, N.C. "Governor Rockefeller has shown a complete lack of moral fiber in the throwing aside of an old wife for a newer and fresher one. A man who so regards the estate of marriage may very well show a similar lack of morality when confronted with less fundamental but larger problems, such as war."

NORTH DAKOTA

Rev. Felix A. Rubbert, Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, Fargo, N.D. "History has proven that the power of example exercised by national leadership, whether good or evil, leaves its mark upon a people. 'Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people,' Proverbs 14, 34."

Harry F. Taplin, Dist. Supt., Church of the Nazarene, Bismarck, N. D. "Personally, I would not even consider him now for president, and, if necessary, I will throw all my influence against his election. If he cannot run a harmonious home, how can he guide our ship of state?"

Rev. W. L. Serdahl, Assemblies of God Church, Fargo, N.D. "Because we believe the Bible teaches against divorce and remarriage and thus, Mr. Rockefeller would be setting a very poor example."

OHIO

Rev. Ralph E. Sims, Montgomery Road Church of Christ, Cincinnati, Ohio. "The extent to which a man adheres to the marriage vow is a fair indication of his adherence to other important principles and vows."

Rev. Edward M. Vajda, Redeemer Lutheran Church, Cleveland, Ohio. "He should not be nominated. Such a morally weak viewpoint would certainly influence his thinking."

Rev. Raymond E. Hearn, Evangelical United Brethren Church, Akron, Ohio. "Marriage is a sacred institution and should not be tampered with by man. If Mr. Rockefeller cannot order his home life, he sure could not order national life."

Rev. Karl K. Wilson, Duever Avenue Methodist Church, Canton, Ohio. "As a Christian nation, the matter of divorce and moral standards should be a factor in selecting a national leader."

Rev. Edward V. Winder, West Hill Baptist Church, Akron, Ohio. "There is reason to believe that the Catholic vote will go against Rockefeller because of his divorce and remarriage and that it will be a big question in the minds of the majority of Protestants. Most Christian citizens desire a president with moral integrity that you can look up to as a worthy example for young and old alike."

Rev. H. S. Lauby, Bethany Evangelical United Brethren, Canton, Ohio. It is sufficiently important to me. I would not vote for a man who was divorced and remarried. I would write in a name first. Mrs. Lauby is in agreement with this view."

PENNSYLVANIA

Rev. Duane P. Mowry, Auburn Center Baptist Church, Meshoppen, Pa. "It is very important to me. It seems quite apparent that his reason for divorcing his wife was to marry another woman."

Rev. Theo. P. Bornhoeft, Good Shepherd Lutheran Church of South Hills, Pittsburgh, Pa. "I would not vote for him now. A president must have higher moral standards. He revealed emotional immaturity by this move."

TENNESSEE

Rev. Dan J. Ottinger, Church of Christ, Nashville, Tenn. "I would ***NOT*** vote for him. I did not and would not vote for the present incumbent. Our morals and spiritual sensibilities are about as low as were those of Sodom and Gomorrah—and that is too low. I trust in spite of it we can survive."

TEXAS

Rev. Milton L. Pogue, Church of Christ, San Antonio, Tex. "In my opinion, Governor Rockefeller's marriage to Mrs. Murphy should eliminate him as a prospective president."

Rev. C. E. Eckman, Church of Christ, Spanish Speaking, Houston, Tex. "I believe that it is important enough to hurt—seriously hurt—any chances that Mr. Rockefeller may have.

VERMONT

Rev. Glenn F. Bingham Jr., Congregational Church, Danby, Vt. "The remarriage shows lack of moral character. It is very important to have a man of high moral character in the White House."

VIRGINIA

D. W. Crowley, Director, National Bible Knowledge Association—Broadcasting Ministry, Arlington, Va. "If this marriage does not automatically eliminate him from the race, then we are further down the road to moral degradation than we realized."

WISCONSIN

Rev. George A. Hanson, First Baptist Church, Hartland, Wis. "It is of great importance. An 'I don't care about God' attitude on the part of a Republican candidate will strengthen the religious appeal on the part of the Democratic candidate."

Rev. H. Parsch, Evangelical Church of St. James, Shawano, Wis. 'Before aspiring to the highest office of the land a man should have proven himself capable of guiding the smallest—yet basic—unit of society successfully. In the area of the home, his performance will speak so loudly that many will not hear what he is saying in the national arena."

Rev. W. J. Minick, Church of Christ, Eau Claire, Wis. "Our nation's morals are in sad enough plight without having a divorced leader as an example. I would not vote for him because of this one thing, regardless of other qualifications."

Rev. Herbert Berner, Mt. Olive Lutheran Church, Milwaukee, Wis. "I believe that people who occupy high places of leadership in our nation should also set good examples in their own personal lives. There is nothing more tragic in our nation than to see that the people generally either do not care about these things or, in a feeling of futility, simply do not express disapproval. A candidate with such a blemish on his own personal life should disqualify himself."

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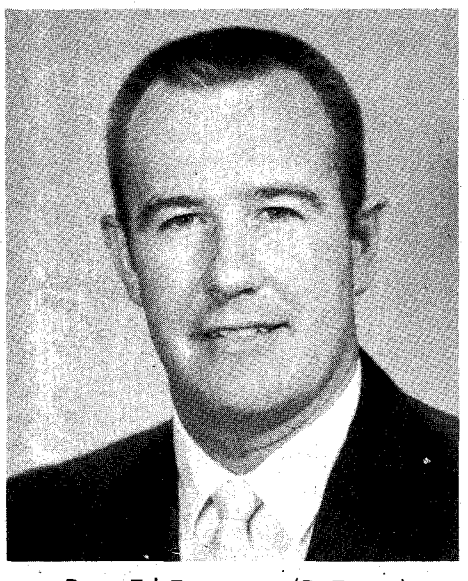
Foreman Refuses 'Pork' For Own District

In an almost unheard-of economy move, Rep. Ed Foreman (R.-Tex.) has come out against a $5-million federal aid program for his own district.

Some political pros have questioned the wisdom of backing away from the pork barrel, but so far, mail from Foreman's West Texas district has been running 70 to 1 in favor of his stand.

At the heart of the issue is the salt cedar, a troublesome, shrub-like tree, which—according to federal aid advocates—consumes more than its worth in water and reduces the Pecos River to a trickle.



Rep. Ed Foreman (R.-Texas)

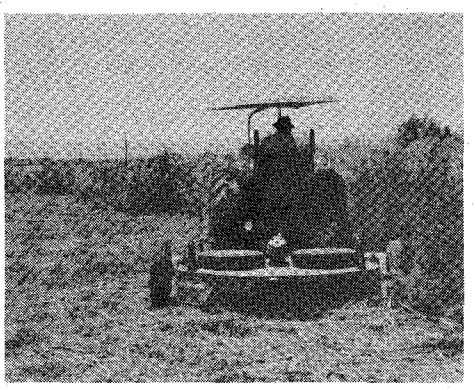
Rep.-at-Large Joe Pool (D.-Tex.) discovered the problem and in good New Frontier fashion promptly proposed a $5-million federal air program to bulldoze the salt cedars and restore lost water to Pecos River valley farmers.

But Foreman, elected on an economy platform last fall as the first Republican ever to represent the district, asked his constituents, "Couldn't we do this job ourselves, better and cheaper than the federal government can do it for us?"

Reminding West Texans that the program would bring "bureaucrats and controls" that would remain long after the salt cedars were dead and forgotten, Foreman suggested that farmers get out on their tractors and do the job themselves—if a real need exists.

But he also questioned the wisdom of removing the trees at all. He noted that the Pecos River is dry most of the year because of drought conditions and increased farming activity upriver in New Mexico—not because the salt cedar trees use up so much water.

"If there just isn't any water running down a river bed," commented Foreman, "it really doesn't make much difference whether the river bed is bare—paved—or covered with salt cedars."



A West Texas farmer clears salt cedar trees with a small tractor. Is federal aid needed for this job?

As a conservation measure, the Salt Cedar trees may actually be beneficial. Foreman was told by a former resort owner on the Rio Grande River that after the salt cedar trees were eradicated along a portion of the river, it flooded—washed down tons of silt—sealing off his hot springs and putting him out of business.

"I have some suggestive evidence," he said, "although no positive proof yet, that some of the salt cedars may have been originally planted by the government many years back to control the river."

Foreman also took issue with the desirability of the main purpose of the program: making more water available for farming. He noted that in the 15 Texas and New Mexico counties in the Pecos River basin, there are 96,560 acres of land in the federal soil bank program, costing the taxpayers $558,723.

"Some folks believe it is sound business sense and economical planning to spend more money to attempt to get more water to farm less land to get more subsidies!" said Foreman.

Reasoning thus, Foreman has taken a step that few congressmen ever risk: refusing aid for his own district. Explains Foreman, "If every one of our 435 representatives—Democrats and Republicans—had guts enough to say, 'No!' to these federal handouts and back away from the pork barrel, we could do something about our tremendous budget and deficit spending that Americans are so justifiably up in arms about."

Rep. Joe Pool (D.-Tex.) wants the federal government to spend $5 million to eradicate these salt cedar trees which are said to be robbing water from the Pecos River. Rep. Ed Foreman (R.-Tex.), in whose district the trees are located, says if a real need exists farmers should do the job themselves.

Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.), Chairman, Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, will be one of the principal speakers. He will be among the more than two dozen speakers, panelists and resource experts.

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Teddy's Blunder

From the Allen-Scott Report

Sen. Edward (Ted) Kennedy (D.-Mass.) got a polite but pointed lesson in democracy from one of his Southern colleagues.

KENNEDY

Encountering young Kennedy on the way to the Senate chamber, Sen. Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.) asked him to support his amendment providing funds to put the Army's Nike-Zeus anti-missile missile into production.

"I want to hear all the arguments before making up my mind," the President's 31-year-old brother parried, *"but I want you to know that I am opposed to the Senate holding a secret session to discuss the matter."*

"Why?" asked Thurmond. "Surely you can have no objection to having all the senators fully informed on what both the Russians and we are doing in this supremely vital field. And to do that, certain highly classified information must be presented."

"It will leak out," replied Kennedy.

"If 100 senators elected by the people of this country cannot be trusted with information that affects the security of the United States," sternly retorted Thurmond, *"then what have we left to save?"*

That silenced young Kennedy. Mumbling an excuse, he hastily headed in another direction.

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Left-Wing Extremism in Action

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

William Greene is a Negro. He supports the House Un-American Activities Committee. He opposes recognition of Communist China. He believes action must be taken to oust Fidel Castro from power.

For those four reasons, Greene lost his bid a month ago for the presidency of the California Federation of Young Democrats.

Elected was Josiah Beeman, a paunchy, bespectacled official of the Northern California-Nevada Council of Churches. In a stormy convention, ultra-liberal followers of Beeman triumphed over the more moderate Democrats who backed Greene.

A major issue in that campaign: a charge that Negroes were trying to "take over" the 5,000-member Democratic group. Prior to the vote, Beeman followers sent letters to convention delegates demanding to know: "Will you stand by and allow this takeover by Negroes?"

Greene places the reason for his defeat on a refusal to support three resolutions favored by the 400 delegates meeting in San Francisco.

Because he "completely opposes" recognition of Red China, Greene could not support a resolution demanding that American policy be altered and relations opened with Peking. Neither could he back resolutions that called for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee or opposition to unilateral action against Castro's Cuba. So Bill Greene went down to defeat by a narrow margin.

Why there is no furor about left-wing extremism is hard to understand.

When delegates to the California Young Republican convention gathered earlier this year, they selected as chairman, Bob Gaston, who calls himself a Goldwater Republican.

Gaston is not a member of the John Birch Society and was opposed, in fact, by a Birch member early in the convention. The Birch member later supported Gaston against a more liberal opponent.

Gaston's election made front-page news across the country. Liberal columnists deplored the victory of "right-wing extremists."

But there is no reaction—hardly any mention, in fact—of the doings of last week's Young Democratic convention.

Nor is there any outcry about a series of resolutions passed by the California Democratic Council, a powerful organization of 70,000 party workers, earlier this year. In a Bakersfield convention, 2,000 delegates advocated:

(1) An immediate and permanent end to nuclear testing by all nations.

(2) Abolition of HUAC.

(3) Granting teachers the right to strike.

(4) Repeal of loyalty oaths.

(5) A moratorium on further U.S. fall-out shelters, coupled with an attempt at Soviet agreement not to engage in civil defense competition.

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Don't Downgrade Congress

By SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER

We are today witnessing the strongest, most determined and relentless attack ever mounted against the American constitutional system of checks and balances. And when you boil it all down, it comes to a struggle by the executive branch of government to take over and control the authority vested in Congress by the Constitution.

Hardly a day goes by that we don't hear from some strong partisan of the New Frontier that the U.S. Congress is old-fashioned and needs streamlining.

What they actually mean is that changes are required in congressional procedure if the present administration is to have its way on any and all legislative programs that come from the White House.

Perhaps the best job of putting this problem into its right perspective was performed recently by Sen. Gordon Allott (R.-Colo.) in a speech to the National Association of Manufacturers. Sen. Allott posed a series of very important questions for the American people which I believe deserve the closest possible attention. They are as follows:

"If Congress puts the brakes on executive agreements to disarm this land, or even disarm the whole free world, will you say that Congress is filled with war hawks? The executive will.

"If Congress demands that every projected federal expenditure be subjected to careful weighing as to need, cost and result, will you say that Congress is a stumbling block? The executive has and will.

"If Congress seeks to crack open the walls of secrecy and news management that are arising in Washington, will you say that we are meddling in matters best left to the select few? The executive will.

"If Congress seeks answers for our major problems outside the central government, will you say that we are stone-age advocates of an individual responsibility that no longer has a place in our life? The executive will.

"Or will you, instead, return your support and your attention to your own representative, giving the executive the deference due the office but not abdicating to it all your powers and your future? A free people will.

"Or will you vote away your rights and responsibilities in return for the illusory comforts of having your decisions made by the machine processes of an all-powerful executive? A frightened people will.

"Free or frightened, able to shoulder the responsibilities of your own choices or weakly handing them on to the remote, regal power of purple, executive majesty—these are the challenges you face and which you must answer."

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Sen. Byrd Makes Sense

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.) is a hard bronco to break with words vs. facts. He has a tough hide against the whip of confusion and a stone-deaf ear to mixed-up language. Witness a lecture here at the University of Virginia Law School.

He pointed out that we're constantly told the government will pay for this or that and one program after another. Repetition entrenches and expands the false idea of "something for nothing." Moreover, the misinformation is systematized through press handouts from every government department.

Yet there are no "federal funds." There is no such thing as "government money. The government pays for nothing. Byrd urged an easy rewrite in all news media for immediate and continuous clarification by substituting "the taxpayers" for "the government," "taxpayers' funds" for "government funds," "taxpayers will pay" for "Washington will pay," etc.

Taxpayers' Washington payments now fly off to states and localities through 60-odd programs in the form of grants. Washington distributes $8 billion annually this way. Some 50 additional programs redistribute taxes as payments and grants to individuals. Those total $2.5 billion.

When Byrd added to these the federal civilian and military payrolls and other recipients, he found more than 50 million people receiving federal distributions of more than $50 billion this year.

Meanwhile, the currency-rotating process passes our tax money through a sieve of government overhead that drains, drains, drains off more of its value all the time. It costs the government so much to run itself today that no matter what the spending agencies do with the money left over, great loss is sustained by the taxpayers.

The people pay every penny for this overhead, lushness, extravagance and waste, and can only get back what finally comes out of the political fingers. Thus economy, of itself, is an important source of economy. Yet our lavish politicians grow more lavish, more self-indulgent all the time in Washington's glittering world.

They alibi nearly everything on the claim of "defense." This is a tragic abuse of our profound anxiety for America's security. Byrd compared the budget estimate's demand on taxpayers for the coming (July 1) fiscal year with the year after the Korean War:

"Of the $20-billion increase in federal government costs since the end of the Korean War, $17 billion is for strictly domestic-civilian programs and purposes and to pay the interest on money Washington already borrowed."

The able Virginia Democrat, kicking his fearless bronco heels so hard and well, deserves the support of every worried citizen of the United States.

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Proxmire on The Rack

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

The goddess of justice is depicted as blindfolded with a pair of scales in hand, and she's lucky because she never sees the persons upon whom she renders verdicts. The rest of us—writers, voters and bystanders—are less lucky because we often look into the faces of and hold conversations with those on whom we pass our judgments.

This is my situation in the matter of Sen. Bill Proxmire (D.-Wis.), who has gotten himself trapped in a bad situation of his own making.

Some of the story is nationally known, and some is not. Last summer, Proxmire was scouting for an administrative assistant with a knack for research and writing. Somebody recommended to the senator a skillful administrator named Frank Campenni, who has worked in political research in Wisconsin and knows the state quite well.

But there were several counts against Campenni. He had failed to file his state and federal income tax reports for 1959 and '60. He borrowed $500 on a student loan although he was making a five-figure salary on the public payroll at the time. Presumably because of this matter, and perhaps other matters, Campenni was forced to resign in February 1962 as research assistant to Mayor Henry Maier of Milwaukee. Some months later Proxmire hired Campenni, as the senator tells me, "because men of his writing and research ability are hard to find."

Proxmire did more. He put Campenni on the Senate payroll at $14,596 a year, but permitted the aide to live in Wisconsin as a fulltime graduate student so as to finish work on his doctorate degree in American literature. Proxmire contends that Campenni, although away from Washington, was working better than a 40-hour week on Senate business. When the matter of the absentee aide broke in Washington newspapers, after quite a run in the Wisconsin press, Proxmire went into his own pocket and sent a check for $9,007.85 to Treasury Secretary Dillon to cover Campenni's salary until June, when he is scheduled to report to work in the senator's office.

That isn't all. Proxmire says he didn't know when he hired Campenni, but knows now, that Campenni is the author of an intra-office report which he did for Mayor Maier on how to force the resignation of political jobholders who cannot be fired by whim. It is certainly one of the cruelest documents of its kind this side of the Iron Curtain.

What should Proxmire do? This man is not the senator's personal friend, political lieutenant or indigent in-law. The senator owes Campenni no political protection, though it would seem that he owes himself and the taxpayers an obligation to hire aides with better records and higher standards.

"But," the senator asks me, "what happens if I cut this fellow off at the knees? He has a family of four children. He would lose a $14,000 post, lose his chance to win his Ph. D., probably lose—through notoriety—even the chance to return to a $5000-a-year instructorship at the University of Wisconsin."

Proxmire made this bed of thorns and is now writhing upon it. You might say he deserves no sympathy at all. Or you might say that he deserves a little sympathy for his unwillingness to hurt Campenni in order to extricate himself. Or you might say that a political writer, who isn't blindfolded to all the personal implications, doesn't have such an easy job, either.

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OUTSTANDING EDITORIALS
From the Nation's Press

Fear in the Parks

From the New York *Daily News*

Surveying the city's parks and inviting suggestions for their improvement, the Park Association finds to its great surprise that innumerable New Yorkers are simply afraid to go into these areas, particularly at night.

They fear muggers, stickups, rapists, queers.

We'd call this the No. 1 park problem. Until it is solved, permanently and properly, what is the use of improving or enlarging any of the parks?

Shipyards and Shipyards

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Last year Congress in its wisdom wrote a private enterprise proviso into the Navy ship-work section of the defense appropriations bill; and this year in his wisdom the President inserted the same proviso into his budget recommendations. You might think that in the face of such a united front, the opposition would give up and go home. But not so. The Navy's Bureau of Ships has a vast lobby at work to get the private enterprise proviso dropped out of this year's legislation.

Both in principle and in practice, this is a matter that needs to be dusted off and called to public attention. The Navy, unlike the Army and Air Force, is still a large manufacturer and repairer of its own equipment. According to *Fortune* magazine, only four private companies in America have larger assets than the Navy's shipyards and ship repair facility. That is to say, the Navy's $3-billion plant capacity rates fifth behind the giant industrial defense firms of General Motors, Ford, U.S. Steel and Du Pont.

There may be some reason why the taxpayer has this large investment in this specialized form of public enterprise, but the justification lies elsewhere than in efficiency. Private shipyards can build and overhaul ships 25 per cent cheaper than the Navy-operated yards, according to a financial study by the public accounting firm of Ernst and Ernst. Moreover, the Navy yards are the same in number as they were during the peak of World War II; but the number of government workmen in the 1940's was 33 per vessel and the ratio is 113 per vessel today. This seems to be manpower hoarding—with a vengeance.

What Congress ruled last year, and what the President wants this year, is simply that 35 per cent of the work for overhaul and modernization of ships be done in private yards. This is not an excessive figure. The private yards pay taxes, whereas the public yards eat taxes. The private yards are forced by competition to strive for maximum efficiency; the public yards have no such discipline. It may well be that Navy shipbuilding is an industry which requires a mixed economy, but the private sector should not be starved.

There are shipyards and there are shipyards. The privately operated yards save money for taxpayers all around. In this issue both Congress and the President agree; they should both stand firm.

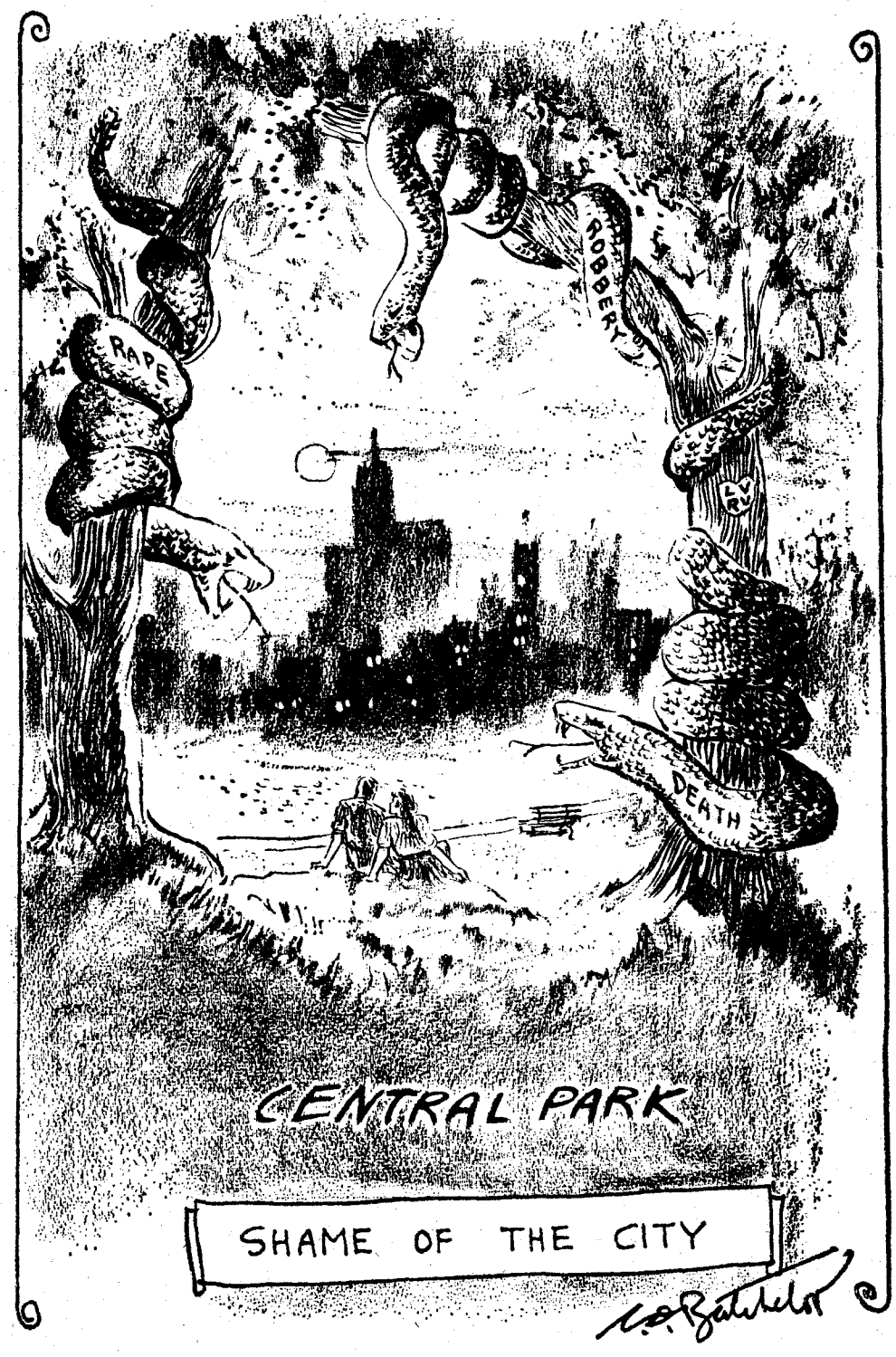
Power Grab

From the Dallas *Morning News*

With President Kennedy seeking more federal competition with private power companies, the testimony of W. W. Lynch of Dallas before the House Ways and Means Committee is pertinent. The Treasury already loses $135 million a year by failing to tax federal power projects as it does private electric utilities, Mr. Lynch, who is president of both the Texas Power & Light Co. and the Edison Electric Institute, revealed.

With the private utilities paying 24 cents of every earned dollar in taxes and the federal projects paying only 3¼ cents in taxes, none of them federal, the unfairness of such competition is obvious.

With no taxes to pay, naturally "socialized" federal power can undersell the private power industry. The same would be true if the federal government manufactured automobiles in competition with Ford or General Motors. Congress should stop such competition. It has gone too far already.



It's Your Money

From the Washington *Daily News*

From budget hearings of a House Appropriations subcommittee:

Chairman (George H.) Mahon: "Gen. (J. G.) Merrell (Air Force budget chief), explain the services performed by community relations for which you have budgeted $215,000. . ."

Gen. Merrell: "I will put it in the record, sir."

"Community Relations:

"Purpose of this program is to acquaint the public with the mission and the problems of the Air Force and give them insight as to what their taxes are being paid for."

Let's see, now. The Air Force wants to spend $215,000 of the taxpayers' money to explain to the taxpayers what the Air Force is spending their tax money for, right?

More 'No-Win' Policy

From the Nashville *Banner*

In advocating a hush-hush policy course, to buy some more of what he calls "moderation" on the part of Nikita Khrushchev, Arkansas Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.) is in character. For he has made a career of espousing the view that nothing should be done to offend the Russians, much less anything declarative of determination to win the world struggle with communism.

That no-win policy has taken a number of forms. His go at it in late 1961 was the gag recommendation sent to the Pentagon—thereupon clamped on military commanders who had been instructing their men on the nature of the enemy. Simultaneously, the censors went to work, to delete from speeches pertinent references to communism and the enemy as such.

Now, speaking as an oracle on international sweetness and light, he told an audience at Tufts University that Western statesmen should seek "in every way" to encourage the Soviets to adhere to the "more moderate" course which has distinguished the Khrushchev regime from that of Stalin. There are a lot of enlightened world observers outside the senator's orbit who must wonder just what Khrushchev "moderation" he is talking about.

Stalin seduced free world leaders, it is true, into agreements that quickened and extended the march of communism. At just what point has Khrushchev abated the threat, compounded by his continuous resort to nuclear blackmail? Is Sen. Fulbright contending that it is Kremlin "moderation" that has moved into Cuba to install a Soviet military foothold? Or that Laos, Viet Nam and Berlin peril points will be de-fused if we just adopt an attitude of tolerance and pretty-please?

Every military and foreign policy authority of stature in the United States agrees—and most have bluntly stated—that only strength and willingness to use it are deterrent facts respected by policy-makers in the Kremlin.

A no-win policy, stated or implied, is an invitation to free world assault and disaster—and colleagues of Sen. Fulbright, not given to self-delusion and woolgathering, have warned of it.

A "moderate" Khrushchev, amenable to sweet reasonableness and to encouragement to subside now and 'be a nice boy,' is a figment of the senator's imagination. As an individual, the latter is entitled to any opinion he prefers—but not in the capacity of policy adviser, or as a spokesman in any sense for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Appeasement has failed at every point attempted. Policies of accommodation and containment have failed; as has wishful thinking on the premise that if the enemy is ignored he will go away.

In this apostrophe to policy confusion and nonsense, Senator Fulbright does not speak for the United States of America.

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Spurred by COPE

Businessmen and Doctors Organize For Political Action

By VICTOR RIESEL

"The businessmen want a political action committee . . . to offset some of the strength the labor people can concentrate in and outside of the major political parties," writes Victor Riesel. So do the doctors: "They have watched COPE and . . . have decided they can mobilize some thousands of activists themselves." In the article below, Riesel tells what businessmen and doctors are doing to interest their colleagues in political action.

Businessmen:

A great many businessmen have decided to spend less time on the view from the 40th floor. They're going down into the political precincts of the land. They're starting the counter-offensive against the hard-hitting, vote-swinging, smoothly-geared machinery of labor's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

They are now quietly hammering together something they will call Business-Industry Political Action Committee—BIPAC.

SIDNEY HILLMAN

A men's clothing workers' leader, he founded the CIO's Political Action Committee 20 years ago, creating a national political revolution.

BIPAC will be launched by the National Association of Manufacturers.

NAM leaders, of course, want its 16,000 affiliated companies to back BIPAC. But once it has slid down the political runways, the NAM wants it to speed under its own power. The NAM is helping to set up BIPAC's national board. Then will come a drive for individual members.

The NAM's leaders hope it will swell across the country enrolling hundreds of thousands who want political leadership by businessmen, or who think as businessmen do. The association is sponsoring BIPAC as it sponsors a drive amongst its members for contributions to the Red Cross.

NAM people say they want no corporate members or money. They want individuals and action.

Those who are working on the public launching of BIPAC want a nonpartisan operation. They want a force which can go to congressmen and urge them not to worry if the AFL-CIO-COPE says it will defeat them in the election if they vote "wrong." BIPAC will support them.

Those in the NAM have a healthy respect for labor's COPE. The businessmen have found the unions' national political organization and its lobbyists active not only on the Hill in Washington, but in state capitals and city halls. Now the NAM leaders want a countering force.

It should be reported that they think back 20 years ago to a CIO convention. Then a men's clothing workers' leader by name of Sidney Hillman took a convention resolution and turned it into a national political revolution. Mr. Hillman launched the CIO-PAC. He went out to Minnesota and found an articulate personable pharmacist named Hubert Humphrey and helped launch him in politics.

In a year the PAC became one of the most powerful forces at the Democratic national nominating convention and almost stopped the naming of Harry S. Truman as vice presidential candidate. When the AFL merged with the CIO the new national political machinery became known as the Committee on Political Education (COPE). Today it is consulted on the nomination of candidates all the way down the line.

Now the NAM wants to compete with COPE by sponsoring a national action committee which can produce pro-business voting strength at the polls.

"The envisioned organization," said the NAM leaders," will be a completely independent group and not a part of NAM or any other similar organization. Other business associations will be encouraged to endorse the movement and lend their support. . . . Members will be recruited from among those millions of people throughout the country, regardless of political party affiliation, who believe in and wish to support constitutional government."

BIPAC will aim at the 1964 presidential and congressional elections—especially in areas where candidates antagonistic to business have been narrowly defeated. It will help many of

REP. WILLIAM AYRES

When he ran in 1962, 14 regional and union COPE committees opposed him. They contributed at least $16,150 to the campaign funds of his opposition. Businessmen and doctors are now organizing to counter labor's influence.

those who are strongly fought by COPE. One insider pointed to a typical election battle—that of Congressman William Ayres, who represents a heavily unionized district, the city of Akron.

Opposed to Ayres when he ran in '62 were the following regional and union COPE committees: Those of the Ohio State AFL-CIO (the Ohio COPE); the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League; Amalgamated Meat Cutters; the Meat Cutters Active Political League; the Chemical Workers; the United Rubber Workers; the Brewery Workers; the International Union of Electrical Workers; the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; the United Steelworkers; the Textile Workers; the International Sheet Metal Workers; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; the Ladies Garment Workers. These contributed at least $16,150.

Rep. Ayres was nonetheless re-elected. But now the businessmen want a political action committee in such areas to offset some of the strength the labor people can concentrate in and outside the major political parties. It will all make for some hot races—and hotter words. And the issues will be clearer.

Doctors:

Businessmen are not the only group becoming more active politically. Some very energetic doctors ran a clinic in Chicago the other day—not at a hospital—but at a hotel, not medical but political.

These physicians are the leaders of AMPAC—American Medical Political Action Committee. They ran a two-day workshop on how to win elections—especially the 1964 presidential contest. During their session, John F. Kennedy hardly would have won a popularity poll as they probed into the science of raising funds, "winning with women," doorbell ringing and candidate salesmanship. They heard from the experts who came from the East to Chicago, where the American Medical Association has encouraged the creation of a Political Action Committee headquarters.

They heard from Len Hall, once Republican chairman and a power during Tom Dewey's day. More recently, Hall braintrusted Richard Nixon's presidential campaign. The two men are very close.

They have their own Rx for politics. They have watched COPE and the doctors have decided they can mobilize some hundreds of thousands of activists themselves. During the '62 campaign they concentrated on 30 congressional districts—their candidates won in 25. Now they've dissected the country into four sectors and plan to be out there fighting for every vote they can get against the New Frontier ticket.

To do this they've just beefed up their staff with four field men and one new assistant administrative director. They'll operate out of Boston for the 12 Northeastern states; out of Nashville for the South; out of Omaha for the Midwest; and out of Portland, Ore., for the 11 Western and mountain states—and Alaska and Hawaii, too.

This expands their organization from the 40 states in which they functioned last time to all the 50. AMPAC strategists believe they now have a base for significant political action next fall. They've contacted most of the 243,000 doctors in the land. They are offering basic political education courses for the physicians, their wives and friends. They're calling on such pros as Bob Humphrey, former chief publicist for the GOP National Committee, to brief them on public relations.

They publish a newsletter called "Political Stethoscope." They have local and state headquarters. They have a women's auxiliary. They observe labor's COPE in action and see it, in essence, as their opposition.

In fact, labor's precinct-by-precinct organization has become the catalyst for activity by AMPAC, which has decided not to leave the field to unions.

(Distributed 1963 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

ITEM—Mr. Kennedy will visit Ireland. The Irish are glad. They want the blarney stone to kiss him.—Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*.

COMPETITION AND GRAVITY—"Competition can no more be done away with than gravitation. We can adopt as a social policy, 'woe to the successful!' We can take the prizes away from the successful and give them to the unsuccessful . . . but it seems clear that there would soon be no prizes at all."—From *The Forgotten Man's Almanac.*

OBSERVATION—New Frontier authorities on communism apparently still haven't learned that the Russian language is one spoken with tongue in the cheek.

PEACE CORPS CONFESSION:—From a disillusioned Peace Corpsman in Peru: "Dedication doesn't last long if you don't know what you are doing."—From the *Republican Congressional Committee Newsletter.*

STICK 'EM UP!—A shrewd gunman suddenly appeared at the paymaster's window of a large plant and demanded: "Never mind the pay roll, Bud. Just hand over the welfare fund, the group insurance premiums, the pension fund and the withholding tax."—From *Magic Circle.*

BUREAUCRACY'S DELIGHT—The job description of a GS-5 secretary in the Civil Service Commission, selected at random, was substantially longer than the "job description" of the president of the United States as set forth in the Constitution.—From a survey of the House Government Operations Committee.

First Businessman: "How's business?"

Second Businessman: *"Terrible."*

First: "What're you talking about? John Kennedy says business is good?"

Second: *"Well, he has a much better location."*—From the *Mid-Florida Republican.*

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

There has been an "honesty gap" in our foreign policy since 1961.
—SEN. WALLACE BENNETT (R.-Utah)

People, or Power?

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

The pseudo-liberals, whatever party label they wear, like to call themselves "The Party with a Heart" or "The Party of the People." This implies, of course, that conservatives are heartless and unconcerned with people. Close examination of the doctrine and programs of the liberals often discloses that either their heart is blind or they are more interested in power than people.

U.N. Softheadedness

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Utterly incomprehensible is the ability of U. S. government officials to swallow the machinations that the Communists carry on in the United Nations, and with the help of our "foreign friends." Take, for instance, the office of under secretary for political and security affairs. Since the inception of the United Nations in 1945, this sensitive office has been held by a Communist. Recently, the occupant of the office, a Russian Communist, died. Here was the opportunity to install a non-Communist and efforts to that end were launched. What happened? U. N. Secretary General U Thant, an avowed socialist of the ultra persuasion, who preaches "co-existence" with the Red hierarchy and has denounced the United States for not falling in line, promptly appointed another Russian Communist, Vladimir Suslov, as his under secretary for political and security affairs.

It is well known that the United Nations is a sanctuary for Communist agents in this country, and the appointment of Suslov means that a commissar will continue to head the office of security. This is intolerable and acceptance is the ultimate in softheadedness.

Support HCUA

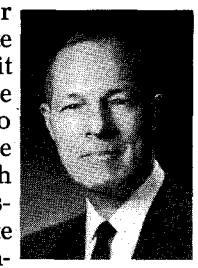
By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

Since its inception, in 1938-39, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been one of the major vanguards of freedom in unmasking the devious activities, techniques and philosophy of a movement bent on engulfing not only America but the entire world. The record of the House Committee on Un-American Activities indicates that it was never fooled by Communist perfidy. Few other organizations or individuals can make that statement.

Considerate Document

By REP. EUGENE SILER (R.-Ky.)

The Constitution tends to be a very considerate instrument. It provides no method of taking your tax money to distribute it in foreign aid; it provides no Peace Corps; it provides no absolute power for one official or one branch of government but establishes three separate branches of government having many officials in charge of them; it provides for no undeclared wars in faraway lands, but only for wars declared by Congress and the swelling symphony of its many voices. The erroneous interpretations of officials have destroyed some of these constitutional benevolencies, I am sorry to say.



Moon Blindness

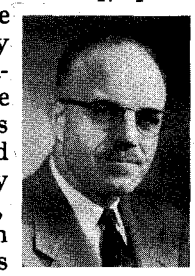
By REP. EDWARD J. GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

I would like to see our space program with more definite military goals and objectives. I'm not a sword rattler, but it is plain that Russia's program is dictated by military aims and goals. We cannot afford to be caught asleep at the switch.

Demagogues' Tactics

By REP. E. Y. BERRY (R.-S. D.)

Demagogues have discovered they can increase their power and perpetuate themselves in office through using the key to the treasury to endear themselves to the voters. The Romans called the key "bread and circuses;" Harry Hopkins called it "tax, spend and elect;" in Nazi Germany it was "security." The New Frontier bases it upon the emotional appeal of "government with a heart."



National Bankruptcy

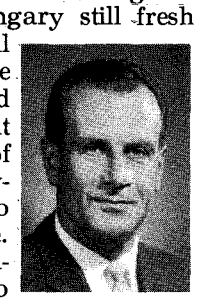
By REP. DON L. SHORT (R.-N. D.)

National bankruptcy would demoralize not only our own citizens, but the entire world with the exception of the Communist bloc countries, who look forward with glee to that happening anyhow.

Kadar's Butchers

By REP. BRUCE ALGER (R.-Texas)

With the memory of the anguish of the people of Hungary still fresh in the minds of all freedom-loving people everywhere, we find the State Department apologists in the act of selling the Kadar government of Hungary to the American people. This is the same dictator who was put into power in Hungary through the massacre of helpless men, women and children, crushed under the tanks of the Soviet Red army, and shot down in the streets by foreign soldiers.



This Congress must do everything within its power to stop this latest move by the Administration and the State Department to accommodate the Communists. Peace can never be bought at the expense of honor. To recognize the Kadar government now would be an act of extreme dishonor.

Weak Defense

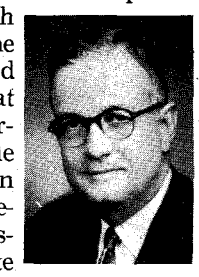
By REP. PAUL A. ROGERS (D.-Fla.)

The entire incident of Soviet trawlers penetrating U. S. territorial waters on Tuesday, May 14, has yielded some disturbing weaknesses in our shoreline defense network. . . It is proof that our defense is inadequate when it is up to a civilian fishing captain to report to the military that U. S. territorial waters have been penetrated by an alien vessel.

'Nyet' to Reds

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

Washington citizens of the Chevy Chase area do not believe in "peaceful co-existence" with the Communists. The Russians want to build a new embassy in that residential neighborhood, and the people are voting "Nyet," even though there is full behind-the-scenes pressure from the White House and the State Department. One American official, after a frustrating conference, had to admit that this is a good example of the diffused power in our system of government. Thank God for our system of divided power. The people are still sovereign, and can decide for themselves. That's the way you and I want it.



What Withdrawal?

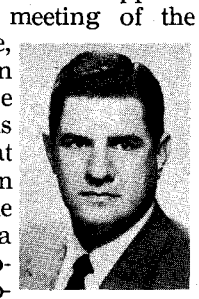
By SEN. FRANK LAUSCHE (D.-Ohio)

The people of our country were led to believe that when the quarantine was lifted and the commitment of no invasion of Cuba was given, that the Communist troops and technicians would be withdrawn. Six months have passed; the troops and technicians are still there. Our position is growing weaker and that of the Communists stronger in the Western hemisphere.

Astronaut's Prayer

By REP. JOE M. KILGORE (D.-Tex.)

At the conclusion of his appearance before a joint meeting of the House and Senate, Astronaut Gordon Cooper read the prayer, moving in its simple eloquence, that he composed while on his space flight. The prayer, along with a report of the other proceedings, was published in the *Congressional Record*—and no one had to ask the unanimous consent of the Supreme Court for it to be included, even though the Supreme Court sat on the front row in the House chamber during the proceedings.



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Investors' Union Answers Kuchel On 'Fright Mail'

Steve Stahl, founder of the Investors' Union, Oklahoma City, admits to the charge that the Investors' Union has been inspiring "fright mail" to members of Congress. Here he explains what his members are frightened about.

By STEVE STAHL

A disturbed California senator, Thomas H. Kuchel, and an angry Oklahoma congressman, Ed Edmondson, in speeches on the floors of their respective chambers, bitterly complained about the "fright" mail which is pouring into Congress.

Sen. Kuchel, speaking to an empty chamber, admitted receiving 60,000 letters per month—it should be 600,000—and was greatly disturbed over the fact that 10 per cent of this mail was from frightened Americans (see *Congressional Record,* May 2).

Rep. Edmondson, in his speech, deplored the fact that an "unhappy minority of 'sunshine patriots and summer soldiers' have become full-time prophets of doom and despair" (*Congressional Record,* May 8).

These two gentlemen are overlooking the fact that these "fright" letters are the inevitable harvest of New Frontier efforts to deceive the American people—efforts which have succeeded only in destroying confidence in our national government and spreading confusion among its citizens. These liberal laments do not alter the fact that these "fright" messages are coming from patriotic Americans who are alarmed and frightened *with just cause.*

We are alarmed over the lack of fiscal responsibility in the management of the federal government resulting in a constant increase in the federal debt.

We are alarmed by the testimony of Prof. Arthur Burns, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, to the effect that the federal budget will not be in balance until 1972 and the debt will then amount to $379 billion.

We are alarmed over the continuing loss of our gold at a time when we are already $17 billion short on our commitments.

We are alarmed over the fiscal philosophy of the New Frontier expressed recently by Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon who stated that "the deficit we now face is the result of an economy which produces too little rather than a government which spends too much."

We are alarmed over the continuing erosion of the value of our invested dollars through inflation caused by annual federal deficits.

We are frightened at the New Frontier's childish efforts to placate Khrushchev, an arch-murderer, who has deceived us time after time and who twice has declared his determination to *bury* us.

We are frightened at the Communist military buildup in Cuba which tears our historic Monroe Doctrine to shreds and which opens the door to Communist conquest of Central and South America.

We are frightened by New Frontier policies of unilateral disarmament and a reduction of our air striking power while the Communists are increasing theirs.

We are frightened at efforts by liberal-Socialist factions to smother our great republic under the deadly blanket of world government directed from Moscow.

These are the fears—the nightmares—which today haunt patriotic Americans and the more frightened they become the sooner they will rise in a titantic wave of protest—in letters to Congress and at the polls—which will crush all efforts to lead us into a collectivist, Communist serfdom.

We hope the Kuchel-Edmondson attempts to smear sound, conservative Americans for their patriotism and opposition to all phases of the world-wide Communist conspiracy will serve to increase rather than diminish the volume of mail to Congress. Our advice to all our members and friends is to keep on writing. It is time to let our servants in Congress know the American people, at long last, are coming out of the pseudo-liberal trance into which they were hypnotized by the New Deal and which the New Frontier is trying to perpetuate.

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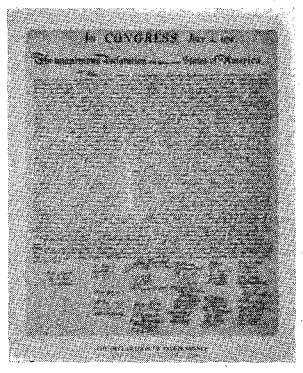

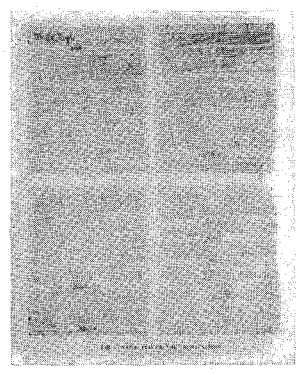
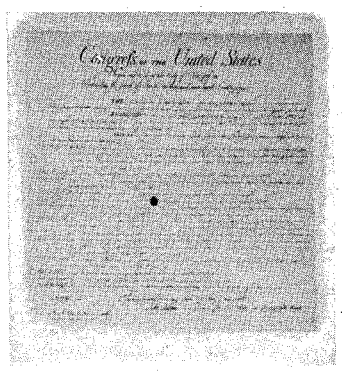

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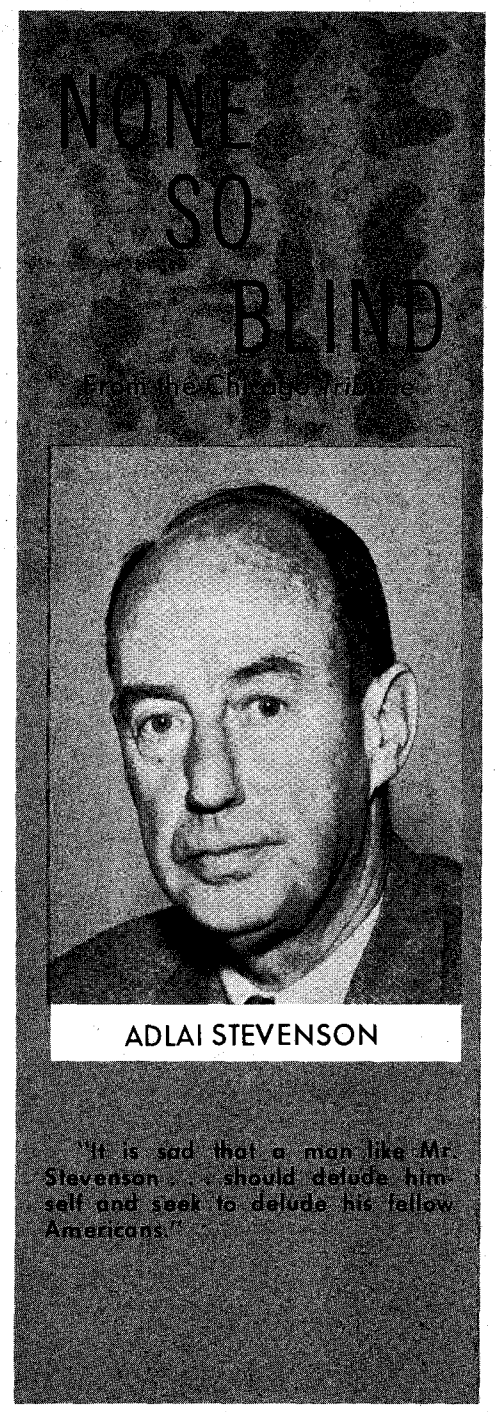

Adlai Stevenson, U. S. ambassador to the United Nations, returned to Chicago Thursday night to lament the parochialism of nation-states, among them, naturally, the United States. They are as obsolete, he said, as primitive tribal societies and must be superseded by a world authority.

To Mr. Stevenson, the human race is a family, all men are brothers and all wars are civil wars. So the whole world "must be organized for peace, and this entails the building, at world level, of the civil authority, the peace-keeping functions, the effective social institutions, the solidarity of economic burden-sharing."

It is a blueprint, as one perceives, for world government and for everlasting foreign aid; for the extinction of the sovereignty of the United States, its independence and its constitutional structure and guarantees of individual liberty. All that we know and cherish is to be dumped in the dust bin of history, and we are to be subordinated to a new world order in which the United Nations will reign supreme.

If Mr. Stevenson's vision were to be realized, the United Nations would hand down the laws by which we would be governed, would decree the shape of our social organization and the form of our economic life, would police us with a polyglot constabulary from the four quarters of the globe and would maintain its capital amongst us. We should be outlanders in our own home.

Those who protest the conception, Mr. Stevenson asserts, are "self-styled patriots," regarding international action as betrayal, construing patriotism in terms of a narrow and exclusive nationalism and fearful that America is to be handed over to, the United Nations.

But what else is it that Mr. Stevenson is proposing? "World authority" is world government, and how realistic is any such concept? Certainly Mr. Stevenson, if anyone, should be able to provide the answer. He is stationed in a seat of utmost vantage—at the very heart of the United Nations—where he can see how the apparatus works and what prospects it offers.

From that position, he, more than any other, ought to be able to see the futility of his scheme. The discordant and spiteful Babel around him would acquaint even the most insensitive and unperceptive of men with the impossibility of establishing a common denominator or a common cause in the service of disinterested justice and wisdom.

In the "authority" that fitfully lights his mind, the have-nots of the earth would control, and the Russians with their jealous attachment to power and to their own interest, would be in position to balk any display of altruism which did not serve their ravenous ambitions.

Cuba and Katanga are visible examples of how the United Nations advances the brotherhood of man. On the island of Hispaniola, the "fraternal" Haitians and Dominicans are ready to prove their mutual love with the rifle and the machete. Western civilization and implacable communism are inimical elements. Any man not blinded by illusion can see as much.

It is sad that a man like Mr. Stevenson, who is in a position to see these things so much more clearly than anyone else, should delude himself and seek to delude his fellow Americans. The American people can give thanks that accident did not make him their president, armed as he is with the fervor to kill patriotism and junk the Republic.

Let Charity Begin at Home

By PAUL HARVEY

When Chester Bowles was seeking reconfirmation from Congress the other day so he could return to his former post as our ambassador to India, he "presented his credentials" to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee thusly: *"The Indians like me."*

He considered his reputation for friendship to India as a "distinct advantage."

Of course, he stoutly defended continued U. S. aid to India. But the pertinent point is that he figured he'd make a good ambassador to India because *"the Indians like me."* And apparently the committee and the Congress concur.

Just who is Mr. Bowles supposed to be representing over there —them or us?

I hear almost unanimous resentment against our foreign aid program everywhere in the United States. If foreign aid were put to a vote tomorrow, it would be buried forever. "If we must waste money, let's waste it at home."

But one of the big reasons so much of it is wasted is the fact that our overseas administrators of the aid program figure they, too, must be "popular."

Thus in the conduct of our foreign affairs and in the administration of our foreign aid, many of the men on the scene, mostly interested in perpetuating their staffs of foreign servants, dare not consider what is needed or what is best or what is in our own interest. Too many too often simply hand out favors where it will "keep the right people happy."

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